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NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA

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DETAILS OF ISRAELI RAID ON ANNABA BELATEDLY REVEALED

Beirut AL-KIFAH AL-'ARABI in Arabic 18 May 87 p 18

[Article: "In Spite Of Strict Secrecy and the Passage Of 4 Months, AL-KIFAH AL-'ARABI Gives an Exclusive Report On the Details of the Annaba Operation"]

[Text] Arab diplomatic sources have told AL-KIFAH AL-'ARABI about a serious military operation launched by Israeli commando units against the Algerian port of Annaba.

More than one senior Palestinian source has confirmed this operation, which was surrounded by strict secrecy because of rapid American intervention with Algerian and Israeli authorities.

The details of the operation, as told by Arab sources, are that Israel launched a night-time sea raid by Israeli commandos against the port of Annaba, during which three military vessels and two Algerian civilian ships were destroyed. A major clash took place between port guard units and the Zionist enemy forces, which managed to withdraw, leaving behind several casualties and prisoners.

According to the information, the Algerians took eight prisoners, who are now the subject of negotiations being handled by the West German government.

The sources were unable to determine exactly when the raid took place, but it seems to have occurred in early February 1987.

Since Israel has refrained from announcing the raid, its motives are not yet clear. However, a Palestinian source has indicated that a Palestinian military force had used Annaba Port on their way back from Algeria to Lebanon, via Jounieh, during the War of the Camps.

This source also said that the Palestinian group which had carried out last November's infiltration by sea, and which had clashed with Israeli navy boats near the al-Zahrani coast, had started out from Annaba Port. This might be the reason behind this military operation, the kind which Israel usually resorts to under the term "retaliatory operations."

Informed sources have referred to the Algerian attack on Egypt more than 3 months ago, linking it with Algeria's accusation that Egypt had withheld information about the operation which the Egyptians had obtained at least 6 hours before it occurred. Earlier, Algeria had made intensive efforts towards formulating new Arab-Egyptian relations.

These sources see a connection between the Israeli raid and Algeria's desire that the Palestine National Council hold its meeting in Algeria, in the sense that this would constitute a moral response to the Israeli raid. However, the Annaba operation itself was one reason why Algeria requested Soviet naval and air protection for Algiers during the Palestine National Council's meetings. Our information indicates that Yasir 'Arafat contributed US\$20 million towards the expenses of this protection.

Observers attribute the Algerians' refusal to extend the Palestinian conference by 48 hours, as 'Arafat had requested, as well as their insistence that all the delegations leave right after the conference, to the Algerians' fear that there would be another Israeli operation similar to the Annaba one once Soviet protection for Algiers was lifted.

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MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD'S DEPUTY AL-BANNA INTERVIEWED

Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic 5 May 87 pp 20-23

[Interview with Professor Ahmad Sayf-al-Islam Hasan al-Banna, Muslim Brotherhood member and People's Assembly deputy: "Belief, Before Blood, Binds Me to My Father; the Egyptian People Emphatically Supported the Muslim Brotherhood Deputies"; Cairo, name of interviewer and date not given]

[Text] Professor Ahmad Sayf-al-Islam Hasan al-Banna is the only son of the martyred Imam Hasan al-Banna, founder of the Muslim Brotherhood and its first general guide. Born in November 1934, Ahmad Sayf-al-Islam is presently about 52 years old. He obtained the bachelor of laws from Cairo [University] in 1956 and the licentiate from Dar al-'Ulum, from which his father also graduated, in 1957. He now works as a lawyer at the [Court of] Cassation and the Administrative High Court. He is married and has a son, Hasan al-Banna, 5 years old, and two daughters, Latifah, age 2 and 1/2, and Sana', age 1. He considers himself to have been a Brotherhood member since he was "in his father's loins." When Brotherhood members make each other's acquaintance, each says that he joined the Brotherhood in such-and-such a year; he, however, says, "I was a Brotherhood member before I saw life!" His father, the martyred Imam Hasan al-Banna, died when Ahmad was 14 years old. Ahmad lived under the protection of his grandfather, Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Banna, known as al-Sa'ati, until the grandfather died in 1958. Thus, he enjoyed his grandfather's care until he reached the age of 24. He says that his grandfather had the same attitude toward his education as his father. After the collision between the men of the revolution and the Brotherhood in 1954, Sayf-al-Islam al-Banna refused to cooperate with them. Offices were offered to him, including that of assistant general secretary of the Islamic Conference headed by Anwar al-Sadat, and he was offered a huge salary and an automobile, etc. He was offered work in the Ministry of Awqaf, in al-Azhar University, and in the diplomatic corps, but he refused it all. He tried to dissuade 'Abd-al-Nasir from executing the martyr 'Abd-al-Qadir 'Awdah and sought assistance in the matter from Lieutenant General 'Aziz al-Misri, one of the favorite figures of the men of the revolution, but the attempt did not succeed. He complied with the request of the martyr 'Abd-al-Qadir 'Awdah to be buried in the tomb of the martyr Hasan al-Banna.

Subjected to persecution, he was arrested in 1965 and given a sentence of more than 1 year. In 1969, he was arrested on the charge of setting up an organization to overthrow the government, a charge that was ready to be thrown at any opponent of the government. The Military Court in the Revolutionary Leadership Council building sentenced him to 10 years, of which he served about 5. He came out of prison a few days before the October 1973 War. While in prison, he was moved through several Egyptian prisons: the Citadel, the Appeals Prison, Turah, Abu Za'bal, Turah Farm, etc. A number of Arab personalities interceded with President al-Sadat for the release of Sayf al-Banna, foremost among them the late King Faysal of Saudi Arabia. In the recent elections, Sayf-al-Islam won membership in the Egyptian People's Assembly. We had the following interview with him:

Soldier's Tie Binds Me to My Father

[Question] Has the entire printed legacy of your father, the martyred Imam Hasan al-Banna, been published?

[Answer] We are now in the final moments of publishing it well--shortly, God willing. All the articles he wrote have been collected close to 3,000 articles, some about Qur'anic exegesis and the science of Islamic law, others about social reform, national issues, women, etc.

[Question] What about the influence of the martyred imam in your life?

[Answer] Were I to bow to God in thanksgiving all my life, I would not be giving God the thanks due to him for this grace that I cherish: my being a descendant of the martyr Imam Hasan al-Banna. At the same time, I am bound to the martyr imam by the tie of being a soldier in the mission he propagated. I know with certainty that the tie of worthy action is better than the tie of blood. My constant prayer is: "My Lord, dispose me that I may be thankful for Thy blessing wherewith Thou hast blessed me and my father and mother, and that I may do righteousness well-pleasing to Thee; and make me righteous also in my seed. Behold, I repent to Thee, and am among those that surrender." [Qur'an 46:15]

[Question] What does the success of Sayf-al-Islam Hasan al-Banna in winning membership in the People's Assembly mean?

[Answer] We are always and ever soldiers of this call. When the Brotherhood decided to enter elections for the People's Assembly, they honored me by having me enter them with them. Thanks to to God! Their choice fell upon the election district of Sayyidah Zaynab, Darb al-Ahmar, and al-Khalifah. I entered this contest, and thanks be to God for this result, in spite of the fact that the government nominated for the same constituency the minister of education, the minister of social affairs, and the sister of the wife of the secretary for organization in the NDP. The government put all sorts of pressure on the merchants and store owners who put up signs or posters supporting my candidacy for the assembly--and

this is a district in which I lived for a portion of my life and in which the former general headquarters of the Muslim Brotherhood was located in New Hilmiyah!

Change, Change

[Question] What is your view of the role Muslim Brotherhood members can play in the People's Assembly?

[Answer] The responsibility now resting on our shoulders is a large and weighty one. People expect change. They want this change to take place as rapidly as possible, because they are weary and fed-up with this government. We must try to bring about this change rapidly and to the fullest extent possible. With God's help, we will spare no effort to realize the hopes of people for us.

[Question] What is the fundamental function of a parliamentary deputy as you see it?

[Answer] The People's Assembly has a constitutional function: legislative surveillance of the legislation issued by the state, as well as surveillance of all that issues from the executive authority. This is the fundamental job of a parliamentary deputy. It is a job the deputy must be serious in performing. In this session, we will try to introduce all the provisions of Islamic law. We will campaign for this and for not leaving these legal provisions inoperative. We will campaign to remove all obstacles to the promulgation of these laws and to monitor the behavior of the government. We are trying to put it on the straight path and to oppose all crookedness, deviation, and laxity, so that the situation will be kept disciplined to the utmost extent.

Hopefully, hundreds of thieves will flee from one cry of truth. Millions of pounds will thus become available, and the country is in need of these millions.

Brotherhood Deserves More

[Question] What is your comment concerning the arrival in the parliament of this number of Brotherhood members--more than 35 deputies--at this stage in the political life of Egypt?

[Answer] This number is not large, compared with what the Brotherhood deserves. The truth is that the great majority of the Egyptian people was supporting the Brotherhood's deputies. The result of this election does not represent the real state of affairs, which is that the majority of the Egyptian people emphatically support the Muslim Brotherhood candidates. This is what we ourselves perceived before the elections were held. Despite the use of various forms of physical, moral, and mental pressure sometimes extending to the employment of the Emergency Law to interfere and change the course of the election campaign and to arrest numerous people active in the elections who were participating in publicity

work for Brotherhood candidates--in spite of all this, this number of us won. Had matters been left to take their normal course, the Islamic current would deservedly have taken all the election districts.

If there was anything that reassured me in these elections, it was the consciousness of the Egyptian people. What gave me the greatest joy in the election campaign was that I became convinced that the Egyptian people is an aware people. It is well aware of what goes on behind the scenes. It knows the rules of the game being played on the political stage and is not deceived by the false slogans that are raised. Even the Islamic slogans raised by the foes of Islam--the people know that they are election slogans and believe that Islamic law will be applied only by truthful men, Muslim Brotherhood members who proclaim this idea and apply it well to themselves. I encountered strong, overpowering, and overflowing sympathy, a deluge of feelings from people that made me bow to God in thanksgiving for having bestowed upon us these feelings from the masses of the Egyptian people. Whenever I went somewhere to shake someone's hand, in a few minutes hundreds gathered around me, chanting Brotherhood slogans, and the police would come to disperse them. The people's feelings were lively and exuberant. They appreciate the preaching of the martyred Imam Hasan al-Banna, may God have mercy on him, and the steadfastness of the brotherhood in its mission.

Praise be to God! The Egyptian people can work miracles, if it is allowed freedom.

Where Are Freedoms? Where Is Democracy?

[Question] What is your comment about the freedoms and the democracy allowed now in Egypt?

[Answer] In all frankness, without complicating matters or slips of the tongue, stating the truth and only the truth, I would say without the least inaccuracy: There are no freedoms in Egypt, however much the government tries to repeat talk about freedoms and democracy. We have suffered greatly from this. Often, we tried to hold a single election conference, or set up a single tent, or organize a single symposium. All the police stations located in my electoral district refused on the ground that security arrangements were not available. When the ruling NDP held an election conference, we said to them that we would hold a conference in the same place. Again they refused, claiming that sufficient forces were not available to guard the election tent. Thus we were deprived of all the means of expression and of contact with the public. The government alerted the presses and threatened everyone who was cooperating with us. In the elections themselves, there was heavy falsification. Where are the freedoms? Where is democracy?

[Question] Do you expect that the new People's Assembly will last a full 5-year term, or will it be dissolved before that?

[Answer] I am not given to guessing, especially since in our country affairs do not move in a rational manner. Matters do not occur according

to proper logic. I do not want to plunge into talk about the future of the assembly. Possible predictions have to take place in a country in which events move logically, so that they lead to a normal result.

[Question] The Muslim Brotherhood does not have legal status in Egypt. Do you believe it will soon obtain it?

[Answer] No matter whether the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt obtains official status or not, it is an organization that has imposed its presence on the Egyptian scene by supporting Islamic law and the duty of applying it. It has in this way been victorious and prevailed. Everyone has come to believe in it. The Muslim Brotherhood is actually present. The late Professor 'Umar al-Talmasani's funeral was perhaps the clearest indication that they are present on the Egyptian scene in the form of the thousands who attended the funeral cortege. The current elections came to strengthen this presence in all parts of Egypt. The Brotherhood is present, and it is best for the government to recognize reality, instead of hiding its head in the sand and not acknowledging a call that is now the nerve and sinew of the Egyptian people. The Brotherhood is the only clean, first-rate, and cohesive organization among the Egyptian people.

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CONDUCT OF PALESTINIAN LEADERS CRITICIZED

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic 13 May 87 p 58

[Article by Faruq al-Tawil: "Egypt's Esteem and My Country's Dignity Are above all the Palestinians"]

[Text] The Palestinians have erred against Egypt as they erred against themselves and everyone who tried to help them and defend them, to the point where they have come to resemble a patient who tries to spread the contagion to his doctors or visitors or a drowning man who draws the person saving him down to the bottom. The Palestinians have competed in accusing the bodies that defend them of various kinds and types of treason. Name me one president or one country at which the Palestinian brothers have not directed the accusation of treason.

Therefore the people defending them have become alienated, out of concern for themselves. Indeed, people's feeling against them has increased to the point where if the subject of Palestine is broached with someone he will turn away and say "let's see some other story." This is a bitter, painful fact, but we are experiencing it today.

In order for us to be realistic in our thinking, let us now ask ourselves, or ask yourself, when you look at the moon, by what eyes do you see it? Do you see it with the eyes of the poet, brilliant, beautiful, enchanting, illuminating, or do you see it with the eyes of the scholar, shadowy, ugly, full of protuberances and valleys? That is, which view do you prefer, that of the poet or that of the scientist, that of emotion or mind? Shall we believe the poems of the bards who have sung of the moon or shall we adopt the reports of the scientists who have wandered about on its surface, trod it with their feet and brought us samples of its earth and soil? Come then let us walk on the surface of the Palestinians, tread on their moon, analyze their soil and examine their conduct with an analytic laboratory slant, in order to confirm whether they wish well of us or intend to draw us to the bottom, whether they are fighting the regime or acting against the man in the street.

When the Palestinian leader Muhammad Abu al-'Abbas took over the vessel Achille Lauro between Alexandria and Port Said, and when his men killed and

threw into the sea the disabled old American, whom Syrian intelligence, specifically, retrieved on the coast at Latakia, he was not fighting the rulers of Egypt or the Camp David system, nor was he liberating Palestine -- he was fighting the oppressed Egyptian people, he was fighting every Egyptian in every section in my country.

How so?

Abu al-'Abbas and his group were striking at the tourist season in Egypt. They were telling all the tourists in the world, do not go near Egypt. They succeeded in that. We lost a whole tourist season. All the trips and excursions coming to Egypt were cancelled. What does striking out at a whole tourist season mean? What does keeping tourists away from Egypt mean? In brief it means increasing the Egyptians' poverty beyond what it is, preventing the flow of tourists' money to the Egyptian treasury, closing up a thousand homes that live on tourist activity, affecting Egypt's economic resources and increasing its crisis, and consequently eliminating the subsidies on some commodities. This is a rapid translation of Abu al-'Abbas' glorious acts in Egypt and the extent of the repercussions of his bold operations in striking out at a disabled old American and throwing him into the sea -- for which the Egyptian man in the street paid the price. Not only that, but Abu al-'Abbas' glory was extended when we deferred to the Palestinians' interests over those of Egypt and defended him lavishly, President Mubarak personally bore the most extreme insults from the American press for the sake of Abu al-'Abbas' prestige and the attack on the Egyptian airplanes (which Tunisia, the site of the Arab League, refused to receive, and about which the airplanes of the Sixth Fleet were informed, attacking them in the skies of Italy), and we almost got into direct fighting with America and President Mubarak almost got into a serious struggle with Reagan for Abu al-'Abbas' sake. After all this, Abu al-'Abbas arrived in Yugoslavia and attacked Egypt.

Therefore I have wanted us to ask ourselves where we are going and what road these fighting brethren are drawing us along. Wouldn't it have been possible for us to throw this Abu 'Abbas into Reagan's mouth? At that time he was calling himself Rambo. How we would have benefitted if we had done that! Don't the Palestinian brethren know that the changing American positions we are facing today are due to them? If we had tried to exploit the issue of Palestine, as others have, we could have stood on terrain which is not solid ground, some of our problems would have been solved and our sufferings would have been alleviated. However, unfortunately, up to this time, we have preferred the interests of Arabhood and Palestine to those of the people of Egypt. We meet only with ridicule for our pains, laughter at our sufferings, trafficking in our dignity, belittlement of our status and infringement on our esteem. Therefore, all Egyptians were gladdened after Egypt's historic decision to stop the Palestinians where they were just by scowling at them. Egypt's dignity will not permit discussion and dialogue and its esteem is above everyone. Its essence will not be infringed. It most closely resembles a father who strikes his son when he sees him playing with a fire which will burn him first of all, then spread to others.

This is a translation of Abu al-'Abbas. What then about Abu al-Kalam [the man of talk]? Let me come down onto his level in his manner. He is the

heroic leader, the noble gentleman, the man of Egyptian identity who studied in Egypt and found no safe place for his family other than Egypt. He must be satisfied with all the contradictions, though; he is coming to resemble someone who eats red peppers with halva and at the same time wrongfully believes that the presidents and kings will depend on his pleasure in their government and are awaiting with the utmost patience the support of his council, and that the presidents need a certificate from him in order to remain where they are. He wrongfully believes that the great fraternal state wants to return to the Arabs through the gate of Palestine. I am sorry for this talk about his style. He is concerned always to say, The Egyptians are great, but; the Syrians are daring, but; the Iraqis are heroes, yet; the Palestinians are shrewd and so forth.

How then are we to understand the Palestinian leaders elected by the Palestinian people who are truthfully expressing what they want? By what means shall we come down to their level? Will we content ourselves with looking at them from afar, as the poets do with the moon, or shall we look at their face as the explorers of space descended onto the face of the moon and discovered the truth about it? We have been at a loss to understand the leaders, who are now greater in number than the leaders of the two biggest countries in the world combined. We love Palestine and the Palestinian people, and all the Palestinian leaders, even Abu al-Kalam, but we will not die for him. I am sorry that I have been compelled to speak in their style so that the gentlemen who have been elected by the Palestinian people will be reassured that Egypt's dignity and my country's esteem are above everyone.

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HEAD OF AL-AZHAR OFFERS VIEWS ON RAMADAN OCCASION

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 22 May 87 p 59

[Interview with al-Azhar Shaykh Jadd-al-Haqq 'Ali Jadd-al-Haqq by Sayyid 'Abd-al-Qadir: "The Moslems' Disputes Are Proof of Their Abandonment of the Principles of Religion"]

[Text] Since the month of Ramadan is the month for reflecting and the month for thinking about the conditions of religion and the terrestrial world, an ongoing appeal exists to discuss all the Moslems' issues, from those of worship to those of dealings among individuals and peoples, simple individual issues as well as big issues with all the complexities they entail.

An opportunity arose to engage in reflection with the senior imam, Shaykh Jadd-al-Haqq 'Ali Jadd-al-Haqq, the sheykh of the al-Azhar mosque, over the conditions of religion and the terrestrial world during Ramadan, the issues of production, the Moslems' conditions and disputes, means for uniting them and bringing them together and devoting individual thought to Islam, sectarian and non-sectarian issues, and so forth.

Some people claim that Ramadan is a month in which work and production fall off. His eminence the senior imam answered them by saying:

"People who view the fast as a period of lethargy, sloth and abstinence from work are wrong. As far as the Moslems were concerned the month of Ramadan always was the month of holy war, the holy war of the spirit and holy war in the sense of spreading the appeal. Many places where the Moslems triumphed in the history of Islam were in Ramadan, the invasion of Badr, the victory of Mecca, as well as the 10 Ramadan battle in our modern era. Thus when we review the Moslems' important victories we will find that they were realized during Ramadan. Did the Moslems sit down because they were fasting? Indeed, they were fighting as they were fasting. Therefore this is an erroneous conception and it is laziness and slothfulness. Islam combines worship with work. The almighty says, 'When the prayer is finished, scatter in the land.' He says, 'The people who have believed and have done good works, the gardens of paradise shall be their place of dwelling.' Performing good works does not just consist of prayer and fasting, but it is the acquisition of sustenance, useful production for all mankind and the exchange of benefits by

legitimate means. It also is the performance of the requisite good works in peace."

His eminence the senior imam spoke about withdrawal into seclusion in mosques, which is a saying and doing of the prophet, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, toward which receptivity grows during Ramadan every year. Concerning the true meaning of withdrawal into seclusion, he said:

"Withdrawal into seclusion is a legitimate matter in Islam and is most fitting in Ramadan. Islam basically does not request the Moslems to devote themselves full time to worship at all, but there is a period when man might need privacy with his lord and full time devotion to worship. That is what has been called withdrawal into seclusion. The prophet, on whom be prayers and peace, withdrew into seclusion in the last 10 days of Ramadan, and his companions and the people of his house would withdraw into seclusion. Therefore withdrawal into seclusion is an opportunity or appropriate time for full-time devotion to worship and for every man's review of his connection with God and people so that he may set his affairs straight and proceed properly along the road to which God has guided us.

"Withdrawal into seclusion has appeared in the Koran and the sayings and doings of the prophet. It is something which is approved during Ramadan. It can take the form of a person's staying on for prayer or reading the Koran for a short period in the mosque and it can take the form of a specific period which he imposes on himself. As the sayings and doings of the prophet held, it could be in the last 10 days of Ramadan."

The discussion with his eminence the senior imam directed itself toward more general issues.

"The actual state of the Moslems now is not in keeping with the provisions of Islam. Disputes and differences, indeed even wars, whether they are wars between two countries such as Iraq and Iran or local struggles among some peoples, or among some neighboring countries, as is happening in the countries of the Maghreb, have become widespread among them. That without a doubt is something painful and sorrowful, because it proves that the Moslems have abandoned the principles Islam founded as important elements for the establishment of the Islamic nation. The Moslems have one book, the Koran, which calls them to be a single nation and calls them to settle the disputes which arise among themselves through arbitration, preparatory to peace, and it calls them to cooperation in piety and devotion and to hold fast to God's cord: 'Hold fast to God's cord, all of you, and do not become dispersed.' It warns them against conflict, because the end of that is failure, through his almighty statement 'Do not fight, and thus lose heart, and have your power dissipated.' This is some of what has appeared in the Koran and the sayings and doings of the prophet.

"The prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, said, 'The Moslems, in their mutual affection and compassion, are like a single body. If a limb of it suffers, the rest of the body is called upon to afford it vigilance and protection.' This analogy of the Islamic nation as a single body means that this body must be cohesive and cooperate so that it may perform its

functions in life, or its function, which is the function of the Islamic nation, the intermediate nation which the revelation of God brought forth in the words of the prophet, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, to establish justice on this earth.

"The actual state of the Moslems now is different from all that. This is because for the most part they have abandoned commitment to these principles, have imported other principles from the East or the West and have abandoned the principles of Islam. Their condition will be set right only in the way the condition of the first Moslems was set right, that is, a return to the principles of Islam, as the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, said: 'I have left among you the book of God and my sayings and doings, and if you adhere to them you will not go astray.'

"The way toward this is for the intelligent people of this nation to attempt to end the disputes, put a stop to the wars and adopt the possible measures for that, not just make an appeal through words, for words alone do not yield fruit."

[Question] Do you agree with the people who say that the first aspect of unification as far as the Islamic countries go is to unify beginnings of the Arab months, which determine our holidays, the fast, the pilgrimage and so forth?

[Answer] To the contrary, there is no priority to this issue at all, if we consider that the dispute among Moslem jurists regarding whether a lesson lies in the difference in "times of moonrise" is an old one -- that is, whether every country has the right to seek to spot the new moon as it sees fit and fast as it deems it appropriate in the framework of the rules of Islamic law or when the sight of the new moon is established in an Islamic country the other countries which share part of the night with it must fast with it. These are old disputes and the issue is not as serious as they portray it. That is, this is only one of the provisions on which sects have differed as they differ regarding other peripheral matters, and none of them affect the unity of the nation. The unity of the nation is founded on conciliation among its rulers, governments and peoples and on their being committed to the basic Islamic principles and provisions. As to the peripheral disputes among sects, they do not affect the unity of the Moslems.

[Question] As a result of the desire to eliminate all differences among the people of Islam, there are people who are advocating the formula of the nonsectarian Moslem. Does your eminence approve of such a formula?

[Answer] People misunderstand what sectarianism in Islam is. Islam has been built on five things: the affirmation "there is no god but God," performance of the prayer, payment of the tithe, the Ramadan fast and the pilgrimage to the holy shrine for those who can make their way there. These are the bases of Islam and we all believe in them, perform them and recognize them. As to the interpretation of the provisions which have organized these five matters and other transactions, people might differ over them as they differ over the reading of any text which entails a number of considerations and the sects came into being for this reason.

Not all people are jurists and not all people are able to deduce provisions. Therefore the general public, which is not apt at arriving at provisions in Islamic law, must follow a sect, that is, a Moslem must seek the ruling of a learned man and adopt his view. People in old times adhered to the four well-known sects among the Sunnites, and these sects are only juridical views, deductions from the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, and are not founded on disputes which affect belief or the provisions of individual belief themselves. Rather, the difference concerns the interpretation of texts.

Non-sectarianism in the sense that Moslems will not acknowledge that they have sects -- where then will they learn the provisions of religion? It is for this reason that they must read on their own and must read a book of a sect. As long as they are not qualified to deduce provisions from their original sources or seek the ruling of a learned man, and the learned man might make the ruling on the basis of a specific sect and follow it, the talk of eliminating factionalism among Moslems entails a violation of reality and truth, because the factionalism which exists is one not of religions but of individual interpretations regarding the understanding of provisions.

The pursuit of individual interpretation is something for which there are rules and conditions that are to be found in the science of the principles of jurisprudence and other sciences which have addressed themselves to this subject. The people who undertake to engage in individual interpretation in the sense of deducing provisions in Islamic law from their original sources must be qualified to perform such deductions, just as no one may engage in medicine if he has not practiced it in study and practice, or engineering, or any science. Making deductions from the provisions of Islamic law is more serious because it is related to belief and worship, which are the Moslem's link with his lord, then to transactions within the society. It is a consequence of this serious nature that everyone who undertakes to talk about Islam without learning must appreciate it. It is an open issue and is not restricted to one group to the exclusion of others. However, the sole condition for people who assume this task is that they have their tools, which are science and awareness.

[Question] There is a question in some people's minds about extremism, which is considered a wave dominating many countries to varying degrees. However, the problem is that extremism in the countries of the East has come to assume the garb of religion. What is your eminence's view on this statement?

[Answer] As you said, extremism exists in all areas of the world and among all peoples. It arises for the most part from differences in conceptions of the affairs of religion and conceptions of the affairs of life. While extremism here in the Islamic East is clad in the garment of Islam, that is for the most part a political matter and not a religious one. The people who wear the raiment of Islam and commit acts which violate Islam do damage to it through their misunderstanding of Islam or because they have been drawn to this through harm to Islam and the Moslems, and the Moslems must be wary of these people.

NEW INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AGREEMENT PROMOTED

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic 20 May 87 pp 3-5

[Article by Muhammad Wajdi Qandil: "The Years of Challenge: Egypt, the Fund and the Debts: What Does the Agreement Mean?"]

[Text] It might appear to be an appropriate time to cast a penetrating glance inside the country and the events in it, and at the challenge which exists and its problems.

The circumstances might appear appropriate to re-evaluate steps and observe the pace, penetrate into the depths and discover the magnitude of people's responsibilities and burdens without intimidation and also without belittlement of them. That is our fate.

I can state that the time and circumstances are now appropriate in light of the agreement with the International Monetary Fund which has been long awaited and whose outlines have progressed, with the beginning of steps of real economic reform along the difficult road looming ahead with hope and work. There are objective questions which present themselves:

What does the agreement with the Monetary Fund mean? To what extent is it connected to economic reform measures?

Is the agreement considered necessary if matters for Egypt are to be facilitated in difficult years? Will it be the end of the road as far as the vicious circle of debts goes, or does it constitute a first step, which will be followed by other steps, along the difficult road?

Before proceeding with the penetrating glance in order to obtain answers to the questions, it is necessary to pause before an essential point and it must be clear:

This is the stage of real challenge and the difficult test. While Egypt has proceeded through difficult stages and times before, there is no doubt that the present stage is the most difficult of these and the one which will test the Egyptians' spirit of challenge and ability to transcend the barrier of the impossible the most.

Emerging from the predicament will require more work and proficiency, more sweat and perseverance, and more effort and production. On top of everything, it will require stability, in its three dimensions:

Political stability, economic stability and social stability.

Political stability has been achieved in the years of Mubarak's regime through the concern to implant democracy, freedom and party practice without restrictions on ideas or the arrogation of opposition views, no matter what their asperity and excesses might be.

I claim that economic stability has its influential repercussions on political stability and social stability and therefore President Mubarak has placed the economic problem in the center of attention since he assumed responsibility and made it the basic challenge of the regime during the years of his first term.

It is certain, in spite of all that is said by some forces of the opposition in order to cast doubts and outbid one another, that Egypt has put itself on the beginning of the proper road to economic reform through the agreement with the Monetary Fund.

Agreement was reached without pressures, without begging and in the context of Egypt's interests and national dignity.

The International Monetary Fund is not the "debt fund," as some people like to draw an analogy with what happened in the era of Khedive Isma'il, and there is a big difference between borrowing for development and construction and seeking indebtedness for the sake of luxury and pomp!

It is certain that the regime has faced reality without equivocation and without concealing the truth or throwing the cover of a blackout over it, as happened in previous eras, and without the government's recourse to changes in words and labels for political considerations although the substance has been the same and unchanging.

From a penetrating glance at the agreement the Egyptian government reached with the International Monetary Fund after a year of difficult, trying negotiations, this concerns a number of important facts:

1. The economic reform steps came as a result of an Egyptian decision, without intervention on the part of the fund, in a manner that is in keeping with Egypt's social circumstances and its financial ability. Therefore the negotiations went on, through give and take, since the contacts with the fund began in May 1986 and the government, from the beginning, committed itself to not infringing on subsidies for people with limited incomes and to having them reach the people entitled to them, considering it a matter that had been settled and was not subject to abandonment or interference, because it was connected to domestic stability. This commitment was an application of President Mubarak's position at every stage of negotiation with the fund, with respect to subsidies in particular.

The testimony of Dr 'Abd-al-Shakkur Sha'lan, director of the Middle East department in the fund, when he stressed that the economic reform program

Egypt had set out contained 100 percent Egyptian policies and was not an expression of the fund's policy, will suffice.

2. The fund's traditional prescription did not have an effect on the Egyptian position during the stages of the negotiations. From the beginning, Egypt did not take the prescription and it set out the appropriate remedy to its economy as it saw fit from the viewpoint of its interests and the needs of its internal stability. It met with support in its position in the positions of friends and brothers in the form of European and Arab countries such as France and Saudi Arabia. The prescription the government arrived at with the Monetary Fund represents 95 percent of the Egyptian prescription.

The Monetary Fund had a point of view on the issue of subsidies, for example, from an economic angle, regardless of the political and social angles, because the fund's prescription usually is fiscal, in the sense that it seeks to limit spending and increase revenues. This is something that is possible only if it is connected to the issue of development, as Dr Kamal al-Janzuri, deputy prime minister and minister of planning, told me.

That means that limiting spending must be in harmony with the increase in production, and this balance between development and fiscal burdens, including debts, was the essence of the Egyptian prescription and is what the fund was persuaded by as a result of the Egyptian negotiators' position.

Here I point to what Dr 'Abd-al-Shakkur Sha'lan said, to the effect that the Monetary Fund, through its contacts with Egypt, never asked it to cancel the subsidies; rather, it always asked that there be guarantees that the subsidies reach those who are entitled to them.

3. The comprehensive reform plan, which is being carried out for the first time, does not constitute an impossible burden on the Egyptian economy. Rather, it is taking it as far beyond the stifling bottleneck as it can, since the unified exchange rate is to be realized in three stages, over a period of 18 months, the Egyptian committee will take its real value relative to the dollar and other currencies on each occasion so that the rate in which transactions are taking place, which represents its true strength, will be stabilized, and the consolidation of the exchange rate will be realized in the interests of the Egyptian currency and not in subjection to the conditions of the fund, because it is aimed at the gradual simplification of the pound's numerous exchange rates, which have amounted to seven and more -- something for which no equivalent exists as far as any other currency goes.

On top of all this, the attainment of an agreement with the Monetary Fund, where Egypt will not cease to meet its commitments and pay the instalments on its debts, as other countries have done, is an indicator of the soundness of the economic reform program and a testimonial on which one cannot cast doubt from an international economic organization which has its weight and influence.

The significance of the fund's agreement to support the economic reform program Egypt has presented and supply it with the necessary funds for that is a clear affirmation of the degree of the fund's confidence in the soundness

of the steps the Egyptian government is taking along the difficult road of reform.

It of necessity follows from this that Egypt should gain further confidence from the creditor countries and other international bodies and banks in providing financing and rescheduling debts.

Therefore Egypt has put itself on the proper road after long previous years of hesitation and recourse to temporary palliatives and patchwork measures to the point where the economic problem became exacerbated and the debts swelled and came to resemble a dinosaur that is tenaciously stifling the Egyptian economy.

The intended objective in the economic reform is oriented toward reducing the deficit in the budget by putting pressure on spending and increasing revenues so that it will be possible to apply a stable fiscal policy which is compatible with the reduction in inflation, unification of the exchange rate and the limitation of acts of speculation in the money market.

Once again, I refer to the testimony of Dr 'Abd-al-Shakkur Sha'lan and his reference that Egypt has succeeded to a large extent in reducing the deficit in the budget by putting pressure on spending and through the measures it has adopted to increase revenues.

I do not want to proceed with wary optimism to the farthest point reached by the agreement with the Monetary Fund, but I do say that it is a beginning along the proper road, a step to be followed by other steps and a realistic confrontation of a problem which has long been shirked and which had to be confronted someday.

For the sake of history and the truth, that is part of the inherited legacy, weighted down with burdens, from previous eras over a period of 30 years and more.

For the sake of history and the truth, it is the first time in which a process of comprehensive economic reform has been taking place in Egypt, in the style of President Mubarak, from the roots, and not through palliatives and patchwork or a cover of brilliant promises of welfare.

It is not my place to "put the past on trial." What has happened has happened and the burdens and debts that have accumulated have become a duty to be fulfilled.

What I want to say is that the agreement with the Monetary Fund was necessary and essential because it will give cover and support for economic reform without dictating conditions and imposing what is beyond people's power and tolerance and without intervening in a manner which would infringe on subsidies and the value of the Egyptian pound.

At the same time, the way is being paved for another agreement with Egypt's creditor countries to reschedule debts and give a grace period with facilitated terms for payment of the instalments due. This is considered an opportunity for a respite and reorganization of the house from within.

Without belittling the magnitude of the burdens which must be paid, the requisite grace period, 5 years, is suited to Egypt's difficult circumstances, especially with the advent of the second development plan.

The instalments of the debts owed by Egypt during the critical period, the year and a half from January 1987 to June 1988, which are to be rescheduled, come to \$10 billion. The delay will give the Egyptian economy the ability to develop. After the termination of the grace period, payment will take place over 10 years.

This means making it easy for Egypt to fulfil its commitments and pay its debts to the West and the East together and at the same time continue to carry out the development plan and not stop in the middle of the road. That is the climax of the challenge of the difficult years which must be assaulted on the terrain of reality.

The important thing is that in the 5 years of getting a respite and reorganizing the house and priorities, it is inevitable that resources be mobilized and that development be assaulted with full force in the public sector and the private sector so that the burdens of the phase after the grace period may be confronted.

This will not only be to pay the instalments on debts and the interest due, but also to confront the constant increase in population, whose rate now totals 2.8 percent a year, and the increase in burdens arising from that in services, education and health and the provision of new job opportunities, in addition to food, a large portion of which we import, and also housing. Half a million housing units are required per year.

I do not want to get into the development plan, and this is not the place to talk about it in detail, but I have wanted to give quick references to what is desired and what is needed and to have us not decide to become lax on the basis of the agreement with the Monetary Fund and the grace period for payment of the loans.

From the initial reading, the agreement has been made in accordance with the interests of Egypt and its economic, political and social circumstances. It does not impose what it does not have the strength to do nor does it put pressure on its internal conditions and subject it to instability.

The opposition papers and their writers who state the opposite of this, who raise the slogan of Islam or raise the banners of the left, are trying to twist the facts and mix the cards, and they do not realize where Egypt's interests are.

Some people in the opposition might go so far as to say that the agreement imposes the condition of eliminating subsidies and raising the prices of necessary goods and services, which is not true or relevant by the testimony of officials in the fund. What is desired is to set forth rules so that subsidies can get to those who are entitled to them. That is not new or strange, since the governments in the era of 'Abd-al-Nasir and the era of al-Sadat tried to achieve the guidance of subsidies and the guarantee that they would reach the people entitled to them.

Some others have gone so far as to say, exaggeratedly, that the agreement means a reduction in the value of the Egyptian pound, which does not correspond to the truth, because the free currency market aims at having the banks enter into the process of buying and selling dollars and other currencies so that transactions will take place through legitimate channels to prevent haphazard acts of speculation which the merchants of hard currency engage in for quick gain at the expense of the Egyptian economy. There is no doubt that this system will lead to the attainment of stability in the money market and a halt to speculation in the rate of the dollar and manipulation of the value of the pound. That in itself is a serious step along the road to economic reform and control of the money market.

There are people who wonder, where did the billions in debts go? Where were the loans disbursed?

They might have the right to wonder, had the loans in the past 5 years specifically not been directed to development and investment.

They might have an excuse, had the billions leaked out for things other than what were listed in the plan and are considered development and infrastructure assets, meaning electricity, telephones, roads, sanitary drainage and so forth.

The fact is that the volume of loans came to about \$36 billion but most of them leaked out during the period of haphazard liberalization.

The second fact is that in the period of Mubarak's presidency, since he assumed responsibility, the loans have not exceeded \$10 billion and not a dollar has leaked out for other than what it was set aside for. That is what Mubarak's regime can be held accountable for, out of the total loans and debts owed by Egypt.

The answer to the people who wonder is, where did the 10 billion go then?

I can state in detail, before the period of Mubarak's presidency there were contracts over loans for the infrastructure of about \$3.8 billion and the government was compelled to borrow another \$3.2 billion to complete the electricity, telephone, sewer and other projects. Thus the total is 7 billion. I can cite one example, which is electric power. Had it not been for the tremendous amount that was added to this in the 5 years of the first development plan, this quantity of new factories and agricultural projects would not have been able to be established and produce.

Suffice it to say that 1,942 projects were established in the first plan and all of them require electricity. It was necessary to provide the infrastructure in the new towns such as 10 Ramadan and al-'Amiriyah so that investors would come and the projects and new plants would be established. After that there remain 1.8 billion in loans for wheat and the provision of bread at the subsidized price, and 1.2 billion for investments.

In any event, President Mubarak laid emphasis on limiting borrowing and set out rules for loans so that they would be based on need and would be in

their proper place, so that they would be directed to the desired projects in the context of the development plan and would be paid off internally.

Borrowing no longer was "helter skelter" as in the years of liberalization. One of the criticisms directed against Egypt was that there were loans which at that time were directed to consumer goods though there was no need for that. It was assumed that borrowing would not take place because that was at a time of abundance of foreign currency. Therefore, when the plan began in mid-1982, the volume of the debts was \$18 billion and more. That was part of the inherited legacy.

In spite of the difficulties and burdens, Egypt in the past 5 years has achieved what it had not achieved in the 50 previous years, before and after the revolution. In the era of Mubarak it has accomplished what it accomplished in the era of 'Abd-al-Nasir and the era of al-Sadat many times over. I do not want to get into a comparison between one era and another and the difference between them. They are all interconnected pages of national history. Whoever lacks a past comes to lack a present and a future.

Every experiment has its mistakes and every application has its deficient aspects, in socialist application or in liberalization.

However, the truth must be told: the volume of investments in the first plan, 5 years, came to double the investments of 30 years, for example. In spite of the difficulties, which are striking, development has not halted because we are increasing by more than a million and are consequently producing 400,000 new laborers a year.

I consider that I am not going to excess when I say that among the third world countries weighted down with debts there is no country like Egypt, which is rushing forward in construction and development, and the burdens of debts are not stopping it from establishing new projects and expanding the infrastructure. In spite of that, it is continuing in a balanced way in fulfilling its commitments.

There is indeed no parallel to the example of Egypt in balancing the difficult equation, without disruption of social justice and without shortcomings in providing the requirements of people with limited incomes, while at the same time proceeding to emerge from the bottleneck and transcend the predicament as far as the abilities exist.

There are other countries more affluent than Egypt which have failed to carry out the equation and have stopped paying loan service instalments, such as Argentina and Brazil.

There are countries which have fallen into the trap of loans, have relied on them to provide the requirements of everyday life, have halted development and have become the victims of debts. Therefore, what Mubarak's regime is doing is tantamount to a miracle in light of the resources and possibilities.

When I say that these are the most difficult and hardest years, that is an expression of the heavy responsibilities the regime bears.

This is no secret: at some time last year, a sufficient reserve of hard currency did not exist to meet the primary materials and production requirements of the factories, and they could have shut down in a month, but it was possible to transcend the crisis and the ordinary citizen did not feel it!

Egypt is entering a stage of challenge but without belt-tightening and without depriving the Egyptians of their needs, and while basic commodities are not disappearing from the markets, in spite of the increasing burdens the import of supply materials represents on the resources of the budget and hard currency reserves.

Egypt is not incapable of continuing with the second development plan while fulfilling its commitments in a facilitated debt-rescheduling grace period following the agreement with the International Monetary Fund and creditor countries.

The loans in Mubarak's regime have not vanished like scattered dust and they have not been spent on consumer goods, but they have been converted into electricity stations, telephone exchanges, tunnels and new factories. Borrowing continues to be necessary in order that the infrastructure projects in the plan may be carried out. Why?

Because the government's national income does not exceed 12 billion pounds, which, by a simple calculation, is broken down into 5 billion for wages and salaries, 1.75 billion for subsidies, 1.6 billion for instalments on loans and so forth. The important thing is that after this only 193 million remain for education, health and facilities and nothing more for development and the new services required for the constant increase in the population. Where from, then?

Thus it is not possible to procrastinate or halt the wheel of development and production, because the consequence would mean an inability to confront the demands of the surplus millions and gaping mouths each year. There is no alternative to assaulting development with all possible force in order to provide job opportunities and before everything realize self-sufficiency in food.

That is the essence of the challenge: a person who cannot create his bread does not possess his freedom.

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PAPER PRESENTS OVERVIEW OF ELECTORATE SINCE 1984 ELECTION

Jerusalem THE ISRAELI ECONOMIST in English No 43, Apr-May 87 pp 8-11

[Text]

As the interchange between the Labor and Likud blocs within the National Unity Government heats, the possibility of early elections is once again being advanced. Concerning this potentiality, the critical questions are: since the stalemated election result of summer 1984 leading to the formation of the national unity government, has the electorate's disposition changed? What long-term processes are at work within the Israeli electorate?

To help us answer these questions, leading pollsters and electoral analysts were asked to evaluate the electorate on such issues as security and territory, the Sephardic community's political direction, leadership expectations, the Arab community's impact, and the general Israeli mood.

Leading pollster Hanoch Smith suggested that measuring voter attitudes between elections can be hazardous, given previous election polls heavily favoring Labor initially, only to crumble in favor of the Likud at the very end.

A polarized electorate

Smith indicated that up to 1977 both major parties shared hardline positions on territorial security issues; after 1977 a clear polarization took place between a more dovish Labor and a more hawkish Likud.

Territorial security. He further concludes that the cleavages within the electorate over territorial security questions are present today to the same extent as in 1984, and that Labor's vote

percentage has remained exceedingly stable over the last three elections. Nothing took place in 1984 which did not occur in 1981 and 1977. The deadlock result of 1984 occurred due to Likud's loss of one seat.

The ethnic vote. The Sephardic affiliation with Likud has continued and there are clear ethnic links to each party — although the Labor Party is more homogeneously Ashkenazic than the Likud is homogeneously Sephardic. Smith added that the Sephardic defection from Labor in 1977 occurred as a result of the legitimization of protest after the Yom Kippur War, opening a "Pandora's box" of long-standing Sephardic frustration, which found an outlet in support for the Likud.

The Arab vote. The role of the non-Jewish, primarily Arab community in Israeli electoral politics is important to assess. Smith indicated that 10% of the Israeli electorate are Arab voters and that they can potentially play spoilers for the Likud. He asserted that if not for the Arab vote, the Likud-religious bloc would be able to form a solid government: according to Smith's statistics, about 50% of Arab voters support an Arab party and the other 50% lean to Jewish parties — 30% to Labor and 10% to Likud or religious affiliations. These highly significant numbers have impelled the Likud and Labor to influence this sector.

Peres' popularity. Smith stressed that the popularity which Shimon Peres enjoyed as Prime Minister did not neces-

sarily translate into greater support for Labor: at the height of his approval rating, about 78% of voters approved of Peres' performance but there was no parallel rise in willingness to vote Labor. Smith indicated that party loyalties are quite solid and that barring some unforeseen event, there is no more than 2-3% fluidity among the Israeli voting public. However, both major parties are losing to their more extreme ideological satellite parties, i.e., Labor to Ratz and Likud to Tehiya.

Smith notes that during the national unity government's first term both parties' images improved, benefiting from greater cooperation and civility exhibited in Israeli politics. While the success in restraining the rampant inflation highlighted the first term, Smith claims that people do not vote on economics and that in this domain the public does not perceive a clear difference between Labor and Likud: although a majority of the public acknowledges that Labor is probably better at managing the economy, this fact still does not necessarily affect voting behavior.

Youth's direction. Concerning the much publicized extremism of Israeli youth, Smith maintains that young people tend to remain in their parents' political camps but veer to the extreme left or right. The Likud, though, has an interest in preventing the shift to Kahane, for such support comes at the larger party's expense.

Religious parties. Smith also emphasizes that the religious parties' radicalization toward highly nationalistic positions in recent years has altered the shape of Israeli politics by changing their coalition orientation from Labor to Likud.

Leadership preference and national mood. Smith suggests that Israelis appreciate decisive leadership — as any free people — but that a strong leader will not affect party voting preferences. Israelis are reasonably optimistic today about the national condition but are apprehensive that economic distress could return. And, generally, the public holds Israeli political institutions and officials in low esteem; the only two national insti-

tutions still widely respected are the Army and the Supreme Court. Smith also indicates that the Histadrut has a higher credibility perception in Israel than other labor unions in other societies.

Rightward political shift

Dr. Michal Shamir, professor in the Tel Aviv University's Department of Political Science and an electoral politics specialist, stresses that the electorate is basically hawkish on territorial security questions. She contends that Israeli politics has shifted rightward since 1969, and even the leftist parties are more rightwing today. Shamir suggests that despite Peres' emphasis on reinvigorating the peace process — in presumed contrast to the Likud — many within Labor do not support an international peace conference. This assessment contrasts with Hanoch Smith's description of the electorate polarizing toward the left and right according to Labor and Likud.

Ethnic chasm. Shamir also points to the clear and continued ethnic chasm evident in support for Labor and Likud, with correlating attitudes concerning territorial and religious secular issues. She describes the Likud as the party of the disenfranchised, a party still in the making, and for this reason (as Smith also indicated) early polls tend to heavily favor Labor. Shamir indicates that despite Labor's repeated difficulties with the Sephardic electorate, it still has not yet formulated a serious strategy to win back this segment. She explains that in 1981 Labor focused its efforts on trying to regain its Democratic Movement for Change (DMC) defectors, and although by 1984 it recognized its problems with the Sephardic defection, it directed its campaign to economic issues.

The Arab vote. Shamir concurs with Smith in asserting that the Arab vote is highly important and suggests two alternative explanations for Israeli Arabs radicalization:

1. This is a genuine expression of alienation, or
2. Increased integration into the political process indicates a certain Arab readiness to voice views within the system. While the left has the natural advantage with the Arab voter, the

right has not relinquished the possibility of wooing that sector — indeed, Herut has a Druze Knesset member.

Peres' popularity. Shamir believes that the popularity Peres achieved in the national unity government's first term is slowly fading. She agrees with Smith's judgement that Labor did not benefit from Peres' popularity.

General mood. Will Israeli public life derive any lasting benefit from the relatively mellow tone of the first two years of the national unity government? Shamir is skeptical; she foresees that the next election campaign may be a very loud one. While it is too early to assess Yitzhak Shamir's impact on Likud prospects, it is clear that internecine conflict within the party has affected adversely the public's perception of Herut.

Youth's direction. Dr. Shamir supports the thesis that Israeli youth's coming of age since the Six Day War — with Judea and Samaria/ West Bank in Israeli possession a fact — greatly increases the difficulty (from Israel's viewpoint) of changing the status quo. She claims that the major educational campaign waged against Kach ideology has probably made youth more reticent about expressing support for Meir Kahane, but probably has not altered deep-seated attitudes.

Stability over time

Ha'aretz recently published a poll conducted by the public-opinion research firm Pori, which reported the decrease of Shimon Peres' and Yitzhak Shamir's popularity. The firm's managing director Rafael E. Gill, indicated that Peres' approval rating dropped to its lowest point since he assumed the premiership in October 1984. Shamir's concomitant popularity decline gives further credence to the suggestion that Shamir's popularity increased during the first term of the national unity government, as Israeli leadership as a whole came to be perceived in a better light.

Territorial/security issues. Gill indicated that both parties are aware of the need to find a solution to the Palestinian issue, but the difference between them is basically superficial. Only on the left fringes is there a willingness to make substantial concessions. This evaluation of Labor-Likud similarity parallels Shamir's view.

The ethnic vote. Gill's own assessment of the ethnic factor in Israeli politics differs from our previous sources: he maintains that there was never a revolution in the Sephardic vote and that Likud's upset victory in 1977 was caused by the DMC's appearance, which received 11% of the vote. To be sure, he asserts, Sephardim tend toward the Likud but this was always the case from the state's founding, and there has been no change over time.

Youth's direction. Gill believes that the public alarm concerning extremist trends is exaggerated. He suggests that the temporary extremism of youth is a general historical phenomenon, and that the war in Lebanon probably served to moderate their attitudes. In general, he says, the Israeli public shares a wide consensus on key security issues and never has a truly extreme leadership ever been elected to office.

The Arab vote. Gill maintains that the Arab community votes more on vested interest than on ideology, else how can one explain Arab votes to the National Religious Party if not for the fact that the NRP has often held the Interior Ministry portfolio? Similarly, Arabs are not Communists, and votes for Rakah (The Israeli Communist Party) must be considered protest votes.

General public mood. Gill suggests that economics is key to determining national satisfaction/dissatisfaction; particular security developments can jar public opinion momentarily but does not affect the public temper in the long term.

Campaign strategy

Dr. Yariv Ben-Eliezer, Professor of Communications at Tel Aviv University, and an electoral-communications specialist judges the processes at work within the Israeli electorate from a somewhat different standpoint. He substantiated previous claims that the electorate is strongly locked into party loyalties and that there is little fluidity within the Israeli electorate. He states that the Israeli voter is strongly attached to the "brand name", and that small changes in vote percentage between Labor and Likud can create a substantially different electoral result.

Voting by instinct. Ben-Eliezer asserts that Israeli politics have become highly visceral, with the electorate making choices on images and perception rather

than concrete issues. He further indicates that negative voting is becoming more and more common, as people attempt to deny office to the opposing party, more than to support their own. Television greatly contributes to shaping our political perceptions, and the judgements made based on television images are necessarily superficial.

The Peres factor. Given the electorate's rigid party loyalties and the impact that small voter shifts will have on final results, Ben-Eliezer believes that it would be sensible for Labor and Likud to direct their efforts to the small percentage of non-dedicated supporters in the opposing camp. Success in convincing these voters to stay at home or switch camps could provide either side with victory.

New tactics. If asked to advise the two parties on new campaign strategies Ben-Eliezer would urge Labor to build on Shimon Peres' popularity, to attract marginal Likud people who respect the Vice Premier's capability. Ben-Eliezer would also gear efforts toward development towns residents, stressing the social injustice they suffer due to the indirect impact of extensive Judean and Samarian West Bank settlement. On the other hand, he would advise Likud to do its best to undermine Peres' image as a capable leader, and speak out on social injustice issues vis-à-vis development towns, but in an anti-kibbutz context — not unlike Begin's condemning the "have" kibbutzim versus the "have-not" development towns.

While both Labor and Likud have projected determined images regarding moving the peace process forward and building new Judean and Samarian settlements, Ben-Eliezer suggests that these images are insubstantial. The Likud is not currently setting up such settlements and some in the Labor camp oppose an international peace conference.

Ethnic divide within Herut

Ben-Eliezer also cites the emerging ethnic conflict within Herut as a significant element for the future. The "David Levy factor" — the sense that his popularity is being blocked by Ashkenazic opposition—is creating an ethnic polarization within Herut similar to that

which exists between Labor and Likud. Ben-Eliezer believes that Labor could exploit this in a new election campaign. He also cites Labor's efforts to recruit a new Sephardic leadership and suggests that in several years' time Labor may win back a significant portion of the Sephardic vote.

Leadership expectations. Ben-Eliezer proposed that the electorate is looking for a "strong man" but that the right and left have different perceptions of what the "strong man" should be. The right wishes to see an autocratic-type leader, and the left wishes to see a leader who will project a message, emphasizing civil liberties and the rule of law. Interestingly enough, he believes Peres could answer the demand for both, given his flexible foreign policy tone (good for the left) and support for the Shin Bet (favorable to the right), during that affair earlier in the year.

The public mood. Ben-Eliezer suggests that "so long as Israelis complain, the public mood is good. When people despair, they tell cynical jokes. Right now they are complaining."

Conclusions

From this survey of electoral experts, several conclusions seem evident. First, little has changed in Israeli electorate attitudes since 1984; presently a new election would most likely yield another stalemate. This fact is probably not lost upon the party leaderships, and is probably the only significant factor responsible for maintaining the national unity government. It does not portend well, however, for its functioning.

Two factors made the formation of the national unity government possible: the stalemated electoral result and the urgent, common agenda accepted by both Labor and Likud to withdraw from Lebanon and curb inflation. With the achievement of these two objectives (and if we accept Hanoah Smith's interpretation of substantial ideological difference between the two main blocs) the only "glue" now keeping the government intact is the negative of no choice. Abba Eban's reaction in 1984 — substantially disproven by subsequent events

Results of the 1984 Knesset Elections

	<i>Valid votes</i>	<i>Percentage of valid votes</i>	<i>No. of Knesset seats</i>
Labor-Mapam Alignment	724,074	34.9	44
Likud	661,302	31.9	41
Tehiya	83,037	4.0	5
National Religious Party	73,530	3.6	4
DFPE (Rakah)	69,815	3.4	4
Shas	63,605	3.1	4
Shinui	54,747	2.6	3
Civil Rights Movement	49,698	2.4	3
Yahad	46,302	2.2	3
Progressive List	38,012	1.8	2
Agudat Israel	36,079	1.7	2
Morasha	33,287	1.6	2
Tami	31,103	1.5	1
Kach	25,907	1.3	1
Ometz	23,845	1.2	1
11 other lists	58,978	2.8	0
Total	2,073,321	100%	120

Source: Voting results are from *Israel Statistical Abstract, 1984*. Jerusalem: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1985, 568-69.

Note: The participation rate was 78.8%. There were 2,654,613 eligible voters and 2,091,402 who actually voted.

From: *The Election in Israel 1984*, Edited by Asher Arian and Michal Shamir.

— that the national unity government will be a prescription for national paralysis may now be appropriate.

Currently there is little consensus for any major political initiatives. Only the injection of an outside factor could change this situation (similar to the way Anwar Sadat's initiative in 1977 affected Israeli willingness to make territorial concessions). Right now there is little domestic motivation for an international peace conference and only a concrete public announcement by Jordan's King Hussein declaring his desire to participate in such an endeavor might influence the Israeli electorate.

To capitalize on Peres' popularity — and before it fades — Labor might be expected to press for elections as soon as possible. However, most of the experts surveyed indicated that even a highly

positive perception of Peres will not necessarily translate into effective support for Labor.

The legacy of the first term of the national unity government appeared to be significant but short lived. For one, the mellower tone of Israeli politics appeared to benefit Yitzhak Shamir as well as Shimon Peres. Thus Peres may have been good for the Likud (substantiated by recent polls indicating a drop in popularity for Peres and Shamir since the rotation). The first term's more civil tone, however, will probably not remain a feature of Israel political life, as several analysts believe that a new election campaign could reassume heated and confrontational proportions, a setback for an Israeli electorate exposed, if only temporarily, to some political "good manners". ■

EXPERT INTERVIEWED ON NATION'S PARTICIPATION IN SDI

Jerusalem THE ISRAEL ECONOMIST in English No 43, Apr-May 87 pp 16-17

[Interview with Dr. Dore Gold, concerning "Star Wars" and Israel; date and place not given]

[Text] In March 1983 US President Ronald Reagan announced plans to embark on a Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). The program, popularly known as "Star Wars" has been accompanied by controversy from its inception. Its proponents claim that it could make nuclear war obsolete by neutralizing Soviet missiles through a space-based defense. Its opponents counter that such a system would not be effective, would intensify the nuclear arms race and cost billions of unnecessary dollars.

The US in 1985 invited certain principal allies and Israel to participate in the development of this program. The pros and cons of Israel's participation in this endeavor are numerous and involve general questions pertaining to the efficacy of the program and sensitive political issues concerning Israel's relationship with the US.

Dr. Dore Gold, a researcher at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University, recently published a study entitled: "SDI - The Strategic Defense Initiative and the Implications of Israeli Participation", which analyzes the issue of "Star Wars" and Israel.

Presented here, is an interview with Dr. Gold on this subject:

Q: Will SDI be an effective system, and what is it realistically likely to accomplish?

A: First, SDI is still only a research program. There is no SDI weapons system which currently exists today. At this point the purpose of the program is to explore the feasibility of whether a marginally cost effective and survivable defense system against Soviet ballistic missiles could be deployed in the next decade - with deployment of such a system envisioned not until the beginning of the next century. The Reagan Administration clearly prefers as part of its strategic doctrine that results of this "feasibility study" prove positive.

Q: Why has there been so much controversy if it's only a "research project"?

A: The controversy stems first of all from the concern of many liberal democratic opponents of the Reagan Administration that unilateral development and testing of SDI systems or components will undermine the 1972 ABM treaty between the US and USSR, and as a consequence will bring the entire arms control process to a halt. Second, opponents of SDI strongly believe that MAD (Mutually

Assured Destruction) is not as undesirable as the Reagan Administration has made it out to be, since it has prevented a world war from breaking out over the last 40 years. Hence, the introduction of Strategic Defense into the superpower deterrent (MAD) regime is viewed as destabilizing by SDI critics.

Q: What were the circumstances of the US invitation to Israel? Why were the Americans eager to involve Israel in this?

A: There has been some debate over this issue in Israel and many Israelis have had a "Woody Allen" instinct in explaining this invitation: they assumed that a superpower like the US had no need to turn to Israel for assistance in such areas as high technology. It was, thus, generally assumed that Israel was invited in order to rally Israel's domestic supporters behold the SDI program.

There is a kernel of truth in that analysis: it is generally believed that the allies were picked to participate in the program by the Reagan Administration in order to build a strong pro-SDI constituency in the Western Alliance, which would assure the program's continuity long after 1989. At the same time it must be said that US officials do take a specific interest in Israel's weapons development capabilities. The criticism of the LAVI program notwithstanding, Israeli defense companies are believed to excel at producing effective high technology weaponry in much shorter lead times and at much less cost than many of their mammoth American competitors.

Q: What are the potential scientific/technological benefits and/or drawbacks for Israel?

A: The extent to which participation in SDI is beneficial or deleterious to Israeli technology and industry is a function of how Israeli participation is organized. If Israeli companies serve as secondary or tertiary contractors to American contractors in areas that are of greater relevance to American security (space-based

boost-phase missile interception) than to Israeli security (interception of short range endo-atmospheric missiles) then Israel's limited talent will be drawn off to solve problems that are not of immediate relevance to it. However, if an Israeli company was to become primary contractor for a system of direct relevance to Israeli security then not only would talent not be wasted but American technology might stream into an Israeli project with relevance for the entire Western alliance.

Q: Is Israel's participation in SDI at all relevant to efforts to find lower-cost defense vis-à-vis the conventional arms race?

A: SDI technologies are not cheap – it probably would cost less to pour concrete and harden Israeli targets – against Syrian ground to ground missile threats for example than it is to invest in an anti-tactical ballistic (ATBM) missile system. Moreover, because of the limited payloads of Syria's current missile force the conventional threat posed by a single Syrian missile to Israel is far less than the threat posed by a Syrian fighter bomber. However, whereas the chances that a Syrian fighter bomb could accomplish a bombing mission in Israel are minimal, a Syrian missile has assured penetrability. The question then becomes whether, whatever the cost, can Israel strategically afford to live in a situation in which Arab missile forces have a penetrability that Arab air forces have never had. Furthermore, what might be tolerable in the late 1980's might become intolerable in the late 1990's, as the numbers, accuracy, and war-head lethality of enemy missile forces increases. The only positive economic consideration in exploring anti-missile technologies is that Soviet-built ballistic missiles currently threaten NATO's central front, Turkey, and South Korea, so that Israeli cost-effective accomplishments in missile interception technologies – could be of significant interest to many countries of the world.

Q: Please comment on the political ramifications of Israeli involvement with this project, both in terms of the US domestic controversy and overall international dynamics.

A: I believe that Israel's decision to participate in the SDI program was a correct one.

Israeli involvement with SDI was one of several important milestones that helped establish the US-Israeli Strategic relationship (which hopefully Irangate and the Pollard affair have not torn to pieces). Strategic cooperation with the US is not only good because it makes Israel feel less uncomfortable about receiving \$3 billion dollars of yearly aid from the US but also because of its deterrent value against the remaining Arab confrontation states. As a form of strategic cooperation SDI is certainly not like deploying offensive US missiles in the Negev, aimed at the heartland of the USSR. In fact since Israel joined the program, the atmosphere in Soviet-Israeli relations has shown signs of improving. It's doubtful if Israel's participation in SDI has had any impact on the flow of Soviet Jewry. For historically, the emigration policy of the USSR has been more a function of US-Soviet relations than of US-Israeli relations. In fact, it could be argued that Gorbachev's drive to stop the SDI program might force him to liberalize Soviet emigration politics as part of a general attempt to bring about a thaw in East-West relations.

It is also doubtful that by joining the SDI Israel has alienated its liberal Democratic supporters in Congress. In fact, many Democratic critics of SDI see merits in parts of the program — many support research to which Israel was invited to contribute but oppose development and deployment because of their negative implications for the ABM treaty in the future.

Q: How do things stand at the moment concerning SDI and Israel?

A: Israel signed a memorandum of understanding with the US confirming its participation in the SDI program during the visit of Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin in Washington in May of 1986.

One has to place Israel's possible gains from this program though, in some perspective. The administration will be lucky to gain congressional approval for a total of \$18 billion for the initial five-year phase of the program 1984-1989. Of that \$18 billion, it is my estimate that the allies involved will not be apportioned more than \$3 billion (one-sixth of the entire allocation). Stretching that amount over five years comes to \$600 million a year, and since that sum will be divided among the various allies — Israel will be likely to receive \$10-20 million a year. There also has been specific developments in the US which could affect Israel such as an attempt by Senator Glenn to restrict American SDI co-operation with allies solely to situations where a specific technology is not available in the US or can be acquired more cheaply abroad. Senator Dan Quagle proposed an amendment, subsequently passed, which provides for setting aside specifically apportioned funds for ATBM's (anti-tactical ballistic missiles). The \$50 million allocated thus could affect Israel beneficially.

It is not clear that the program will continue in the same form after 1989. The program could emphasize smaller advanced technological weapons projects like ATBM. Democratic Senator Sam Nunn has, for instance, expressed his concern about Soviet conventional superiority as an equal problem to that of the nuclear threat. If the conventional aspect becomes emphasized, and Israel has the appropriate technology, then we may be able to make a significant contribution. ■

ISRAEL'S PRINT MEDIA SURVEYED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM ECONOMIST in English No 43, Apr-May 87 pp 22-24

[Text]

Israel's printed media have come a long way since the first Hebrew periodical, *Havazelet*, was published in 1863. To illustrate the point, Israel's nationally distributed daily newspapers accounted for \$132 million or 42% of the total advertising budget. This added up to over 5 million inches worth of print ads for the year.

The percentage of ads in the print medium has declined since only a handful of papers allow circulation audits and Israeli companies are shifting their ads to media that enables monitoring and that can reach the right "target buyers".

The measurement of ad inches is also not accurate since papers run the same ad until a sale is made while some dailies share the client fees and print duplicate ads.

In place of circulation audits and ad inch counts, the Advertisers' Association in Israel runs media surveys. Its 1986 study of 1,200 Israelis from around the country showed that nearly 70% of the population aged 20 to 50 reads a daily and 87% reads the larger weekend editions. The survey indicated a dramatic increase in educated readership; 75% of those with more than nine years of schooling buys a daily and 92% reads weekend editions. There is no difference in readership between male and female Israelis, but readership does increase with household income: 81% of high-income households reads a daily and 94% buys a weekend edition. Of the youth readership, 61% of those age 13 to 18 reads a daily and 87% peruse a weekend paper.*

As can be seen by the table, Israel has two large dailies vying for first place. While *Yediot Aharonot* (138 Derech Petach Tikva, Tel Aviv, (03) 257172) has an audited circulation of over 232,000 papers on a weekday and an audited 463,000 on weekends, the *Ma'ariv* (2 Carlebach, Tel Aviv, (03) 4391110) has the lead in advertising with a total of 1.4 million ad inches in 1986. The other dailies are

Ha'aretz (21 Shoken, Tel Aviv, (03) 824261), appealing to an older, more educated, and higher-income group, *Hadashot* (2 Tushia, Tel Aviv, (03) 337991), tabloid, and *Davar* (45 Sheinkin, Tel Aviv, (03) 824261), the Histadrut paper. Many readers tend to buy more than one paper: for example, 25% of *Ma'ariv* readers also buy *Yediot Aharonot*. These figures remain constant for the weekend readership.*

All organizations belong to the Daily Newspaper Publishers Association (Tel Aviv, (03) 251437), which ensures that all the papers are fairly distributed nationally.

Local press

The regional press, published separately in each Israeli city to inform residents of local news, sports, and events, showed a 95% increased in revenue from 1985, with \$34 million or 11% of the ad expenditure in 1986. The farther away a city is from the nation's central region, the more important the local paper; Eilat was the first to publish a local paper in 1959, and Haifa has the largest regional publication. These locals were started by ad agencies to supply Israeli companies and retail outlets with an inexpensive ad medium to reach shoppers.

In 1986, the most popular local newspapers were *Kol Bo* (1 Herzliya, Haifa, (04) 257172), which serves Haifa and printed over 438,000 ad inches, *Kol Ha'ir* (8 Akiva, Jerusalem, (02) 247118) had over 315,000 inches of advertising, and *Ha'ir* (29 Geula, Tel Aviv (03) 664536).*

Magazines, journals & directories

Israeli weekly and monthly magazines and journals also provide excellent effective advertising sources. Over 100 publications attract a significant readership: in 1986, magazines handled ads worth \$18 million, 5.8% of total ad revenue. Approximately 49% of the population read some weekly and 28% read some monthly periodical.*

The most popular magazine, *La'isha* (7 Fin, Tel Aviv, (03) 331060), is a woman's weekly boasting a 105,000 circulation for each issue. During 1986, *La'isha* printed over 120,000 inches of advertising aimed at its female readers.*

Another popular woman's magazine is *At* (2 Carlebach, Tel Aviv, (03) 439111), which printed about 42,000 ad inches.*

For the growing Israeli personal computer users market, there is *Anashim V'Machshevim* (POB 33325,

Tel Aviv, (03) 295148), which has an estimated bi-weekly circulation of 50,000 readers.

Professional journals and business directories carried \$30 million or 9.7% of the ad market in 1986.⁹ Two of the leaders are Dun & Bradstreet and The Israel Economist Publishing House Ltd., described in the English readership section below.

Direct mail

Direct mail has experienced a 100% increase in ad revenue from 1985, now standing at \$15.7 million or 5.1% of the total ad market. Israeli companies are focusing their efforts on reaching a specific target group of buyers, and direct-mail ads are well suited for this job. As postal rates hold steady and postal delivery improves the direct-mail sector will also rise.¹⁰

Meanwhile Israel's *Golden Pages* (POB 33023, Tel Aviv, (03) 257111) telephone directory has computerized its classifieds to allow for direct-mail access to listings.

The largest direct-mail concerns in the country are Golden Sticker (39 Shaul Hamelech, Tel Aviv, (03) 257111), Ab Data (6 Ben Zion, Tel Aviv, (03) 295479), and Yashir (36 Harakevet, Tel Aviv, (03) 379851).

Arab press

Israel's Arab community also has a number of informative publications, such as *Al-Kuds*, the largest and oldest, with a 30,000 circulation and an international edition, distributed in London. There is also the Jerusalem-based weekly, *An-Nahar*, which has about 12 pages of local and foreign news and prints about 9,000 copies.

English periodicals

There is a substantial English-speaking readership in Israel, made up primarily of immigrants from the US, Canada, Britain, Australia, and South Africa.

The Jerusalem Post (81 Ohaliav, Jerusalem, (02) 551616), the English news daily, has a daily circulation estimated at 30,000 and a weekend total of over 55,000. In 1986, the newspaper took in 174,000 inches of ads. The international edition's over 55,000 copies are distributed in almost 90 countries. *The Jerusalem Post* also publishes *In Jerusalem* in the capital and *Metro* in Tel Aviv.

NEWSPAPER FIGURES - 1986

Paper	Daily (reader %)	Weekly	Daily (circulation)	Weekly	Ad Inches (millions)	Education (years)	Age Group (years)
Mazriv	21	27	110,000	215,000	1.43	13+	20 - 40
Yediot Aharonot	49	64	232,000	463,000	1.01	9 - 12	20 - 40
Ha'aretz	5	6	—	—	.44	13+	30 - 50
Hadashot	7	6	—	—	.49	9 - 13+	20 - 50
Davar	2	3	—	—	.31	12 - 13+	40 - 60
Jerusalem Post	1*	2*	30,000	(est.) 55,000	.17	13+	60+
Typical reader:	70%	89%	—	—	—	9 - 13+	20 - 50

* Figure only for Hebrew-speaking population - total readership significantly higher.

The Israel Economist Publishing House Ltd. (6 Hazanovitch, POB 7052, Jerusalem, (02) 234131) produces about 55 publications annually. *The Israel Economist* magazine, with an international circulation of about 20,000, is one of the oldest Israeli monthlies (begun in the 1930s) and provides Israeli business and economic news. Other publications produced by the publishing house include the bi-annual *Dans Hotel* magazine (circulation, 8,000); *Arkia's* bi-annual in-flight magazine, *El Rakia* (circulation, 15,000); *Keeping Posted*, which serves the large diplomatic community in Israel (circulation, 7,000); eight Chamber of Commerce publications that cover Israeli business relations with the US, Britain, Japan, Latin America, etc. (estimated circulation, 4,000-7,000 each), and catalogues dealing with food production, ashion, the textile industry, and Israeli export services. A full-length ad catalogue is now being prepared for the 1987 high-tech conference in Washington, D.C.

The Israeli branch of **Dun & Bradstreet** (105 Hahashmonaim, Tel Aviv, (03) 216121) produces several annual publications containing advertising aimed at the international market. **Dun & Bradstreet** prints 2,000 copies of its *Dunsguide Israel* directories, each year listing — in five languages — economic data of Israel's 5,000 top companies. This is supplemented by the annual *Duns 100* magazine, which indicates those 100 Israeli companies with the best sales record. Since 1984, it has published an *Export Directory*, with a circulation of about 7,000, and starting this year it will issue a *Technology Directory* listing Israeli high-tech companies.

Readers interested in Israeli technological advances and industrial activity can also refer to *Industrial Israel* (10 Masaryk, Tel Aviv, (03) 222865), which has a circulation of 10,000 and comes out three times yearly. Some 35% of its 100 pages is business-to-business advertising.

Tourists wanting to know what's going on in Israel can refer to *Hello Israel* and *This Week in Israel*, free publications printed in several languages and filled with ads for retailers, tour agencies, etc.; Israeli history and arachaeology buffs can peruse *Eretz* (5 Avida, Jerusalem, (02) 248090), printing 20,000 copies — 75% of which is geared to North America.

The religious Jewish community turns to the Israeli edition of the *American Jewish Press* (43 King George, Jerusalem, (02) 243122), a weekly with a circulation of 5,000.

General interest magazines include the highly entertaining *Israel Scene* (6 Hamagid, Tel Aviv, (03) 622508), printed by the World Zionist Organization, and the political *New Outlook* (9 Gordon, Tel Aviv, (03) 236496), celebrating its 30th year.

NATION'S BROADCAST MEDIA SURVEYED

Jerusalem THE ISRAEL ECONOMIST in English No 43, Apr-May 87 pp 25-27

[Text]

Though Israel's only television station bars commercials, the other broadcast media racked up an impressive \$29 million, which accounted for 9.4% of the totals in 1986. This amount should double or triple once the commercial second TV channel begins airing this year.

Radio

Of this broadcast total, the radio air waves made \$19 million or 6.2% of the whole amount. Israel boasts five radio stations, including Abie Nathan's "Voice of Peace" radio-ship broadcasting off Israel's coast. Three of these stations accept 15-, 30- or 60-second ads; to avoid ad clutter up to 12 commercials may be run per hour.

Israel's first radio station, "Voice of Jerusalem", began broadcasting in 1936 with Hebrew, English, and Arabic news and classical music programs. The Israeli army has two radio frequencies to broadcast musical, educational, and interview programs. During an emergency, these radio stations broadcast call up signals for reservists throughout the country.

The two remaining stations accepting commercials air news programs in English, French, and easy Hebrew, broadcasting exercise classes, culture and arts talk shows, bible readings, business updates, child-care tips, discussions of hot political issues, and the current Demjanjuk war crimes trial taking place in Jerusalem.

The government radio station, "Kol Israel", with a staff of 900 and a yearly \$23 million budget, stays on the air approximately 20 hours, from 6 am-1 am. The highest listenership is for the news, broadcast hourly. The cost-per-thousand for ads are the highest directly before and after each news program.

Based on an Advertisers' Association of Israel survey, the most listened-to time of the day for those 20 years and older is the 7-8 am travel-time period.

Some 30% of the radio audience comprises the under-20 crowd, which listens in between 2-3 pm, when school lets out. Morning commercials are aimed at adult consumers and afternoon commercials are aimed at younger purchasers.

Israeli TV

If Israel's second channel actually begins operating in 1987, which should grab an estimated \$50 million in income from commercials. Some six minutes of each hour will be allocated to commercials, to be screened by the 15-member committee governing the second TV channel; ad revenue should run \$5,000 to \$10,000 per prime time minute.

Many daily newspapers and radio stations oppose this new TV channel, which they fear will draw away as much as 50% of their advertisers. Legislation, however, requires that the second TV channel compensate the print and radio media for all ad losses.

Israel's TV channel, which has a staff of 500 and an annual \$24-million budget, broadcasts from 5:30 pm to 12 midnight with shows like "Kolbotek", the consumer news program, and a Middle Eastern sit-com, "The Big Restaurant", as well as syndicated shows like "Dynasty" and the "Cosby Show". The 9 to 5 time slot is allocated to Educational TV, which airs programs such as "Rehov Soom-Soom" (Sesame Street).

Due to the non-commercial nature of Israel's sole television channel, \$10 million in 1986 TV ad income came from "sponsorship" and public service announcements. Sponsorship costs range from \$1,800-\$3,000, depending on the program — "Dynasty" is among the most expensive.

Regulations governing public-service announcements are complicated. In the last three years there has been a trend toward bending the rules, and ads for plastic plumbing fixtures, lottery tickets, fruits and vegetables, and educational institutes have been broadcast. In this manner, notes Idan/Tel Production's Ayal Peled, such companies "have been able to avoid the steel gates of Israel Television, which prohibit advertising, and go through a back door." Peled has been instrumental in forming "non-profit-public" organizations, enabling his clients to advertise via public-service announcements.

Commercials however, are not unrestricted: They may not use company names — not exactly ideal for

every business, but beneficial to some: Israel's wineries pooled their resources, each paying their proportional share of the market toward production costs, and submitted a commercial to the IBA through the Agriculture Ministry, which subsidizes airing costs. The general commercial encouraging people to drink Israeli wine yielded a sales increase; the Citrus Marketing Board also reported sales rises following a grapefruit commercial campaign. Many industries have since slipped through the loophole and taken advantage of this low-cost announcement.

Natan Brun, head of the IBA committee reviewing public-service announcement requests, says that 50% are refused. The committee, which meets weekly, first determines whether the organization requesting air time operates in the public interest. It then reviews the message, script, and finally the completed commercial.

CINEMA & FILM PRODUCTIONS

Until the second TV channel becomes a reality, advertisers will have to make do with screening movie-theater commercials, which only generated \$4 million in 1986 ad revenues. There are approximately 95 movie theaters scattered around the country; Tel Aviv boasts the most, with 38 cinemas. The average weekly attendance is anywhere from 2,000 to 3,000 — mostly youthful audiences — and most theaters can seat 750 people per showing.* Screenings are usually three times daily, at 4, 7, and 9 pm, but only twice on Saturday nights, after the Sabbath ends.

Israeli movie theaters play all current popular films such as the Oscar-winning "Platoon" and the Australian comedy "Crocodile Dundee", with only a short delay in time to subtitle the flicks into Hebrew and Arabic.

Such commercials are charged by film meterage per week, with one-minute commercials running 27½ meters. These ad costs (in Israel shekels) are further broken down into costs-per-thousand viewers. These commercials, shown prior to film screenings, are frequently entertaining and rarely without local flavor. Local companies take advantage of the medium, some producing elaborate song and dance numbers costing \$5,000 to \$50,000, while many international advertisers simply dub Hebrew onto existing television commercials.

International advertisers can produce sophisticated commercials for a relatively small price. United Studios' Shlomo Paz says that "international adver-

tisers could benefit substantially by producing commercials here. In addition to the variety of locations and diversity of talent, production costs are 35-50% less than in the US." Peled adds that the climate and crews' professionalism contribute to lower production costs. Despite these advantages, only a handful of international advertisers have utilized Israel as a shooting location — due to fears of terrorism. Yet Hollywood has produced films here for a long time, including the recent "Iron Eagle" and "Sword of Gideon", and this summer, Columbia Pictures, the BBC, and Cannon Films are gearing up for major productions to be shot in Israel.

Home-grown studios

Several Israeli companies supply 35-mm film and video production services. The largest, **United Studios** (Hakessem St., Herzliya (052) 550051) produces some 52 cinema commercials yearly as well as most of the public-service announcements. Its comprehensive, in-house video and film production services range from pre-production research and site scouting to post-production sound mixing and 35-mm film processing.

G & G Israel Studios Ltd., a Cannon film subsidiary (6 Beilenson St., Tel Aviv (03) 661046), has become a major Israeli motion picture production force in a short time. It boasts an impressive collection of props, costumes, motion-picture equipment, vehicles, and has even built an entire village set, complete with a medieval castle for a fairy-tale series. G & G also supplies full production services and is currently building a multimillion dollar video/film production facility in Neve Ilan, outside of Jerusalem, which is partially operating and should be completed in a year.

Several smaller, Tel Aviv-based companies specialize in providing services to foreign productions who come to Israel to produce feature films and commercials. **Israfilms** (61 Pinsker St., Tel Aviv, (03) 293241) and **April Films** (237 Dizengoff St., Tel Aviv, (03) 223786) for example, do not own their own equipment but have earned a reputation for supplying excellent services to the most scrutinizing Hollywood production companies. **Telemedia** (16 McDonald, Ramat Gan, (03) 751-4023), however, only works with video, and claims it's the only Israeli company using the modern BetaCam™ equipment, complete with on-line A & B roll editing capabilities.

Jerusalem boasts several major video production facilities. **Jerusalem Capitol Studios** (1 Zalman Shazar St., (02) 528252) has provided motion picture

support but its focus remains providing crews, facilities, and equipment to foreign news networks. Jerusalem Communications Center/Kastel (4 Shamgar St., (02) 521221) has moved away from news support and is busy producing "Hello Jerusalem", an hour-long light news magazine aired weekly on cable and broadcast stations in North America. Now in its fifth year of production, "Hello Jerusalem" has become an excellent advertising vehicle for domestic and international companies who want to reach its finely defined audience. JCC's mother company, Kastel films, has produced its own original productions and supplies production services for industrial, educational, and commercial films.

Like JCS, Israel Commercial Television (34 Ben Yehuda St., (02) 226312) specializes in news support to a host of international network clients and prefers to refer commercial production bids to its mother company, United Studios.

Tel-Ad Idan Jerusalem Studios (20 Marcus St., (02) 662112), the largest and most comprehensive facility in Jerusalem, does a lot of Israel Television's production. They also produce most of the public-service advertisements aired on television.

In Jerusalem there are many other smaller companies that maintain low overheads and provide film and video production services. Jerusalem Media Services (02) 380221, a new company, provides complete production services and maintains offices both here and in New York. It specializes in promotional films for Jewish organizations. Another up-and-coming company is Magno Films (22 Ussishkin, (02) 663377), which has been successful in providing services to the Christian market.

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ARAB, SEPHARDI BIRTH RATE DOWN

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 27 May 87 p 1

[Article by Abraham Rabinovich]

[Text] Despite the determination with which East Jerusalem's Arabs have clung to their separate national identity since the Six Day War, 20 years of proximity to Israeli society have dramatically changed one of the most intimate aspects of their lives — the rate at which they have children. According to Prof. Uziel Schmeltz of the Hebrew University, Arab women in Jerusalem today bear less than half the number of children they did 20 years ago.

Schmeltz, one of Israel's leading demographers, attributed the drop largely to emulation of the Western standards of fertility reflected by the Israeli population, including Israeli Arabs.

Moslem women in East Jerusalem averaged 9.7 children in 1967 (an average that includes women who did not bear children at all) while Christian Arabs averaged six. By 1983, according to Schmeltz, the figures had dropped to 4.5 and 1.8 respectively, and that rate has probably fallen since. "The downward trend is continuing," he said in an interview this week. On the West Bank, by contrast, where Israeli influence is more remote, the figure has declined to only about seven children.

Precisely the same trend is discernible among Israeli Arabs and Israeli Jews from Arab countries. The 1960s saw a peak in the fertility rate of Israeli Arab women as relative economic prosperity in the Arab sector permitted young men to ac-

quire the money for *mohar* (the bride price) at an earlier age. The average was nine children in 1970, but by 1980 this had fallen to six and today is 4.5 and still declining.

"There is a generational change," said Schmeltz. The child-bearing population today was reared in Israeli conditions. The increased education of Arab women has been a primary factor in the change in attitude towards fertility.

Among Israeli Jews, the marked disparity in the fertility rates of so-called Sephardim from Arab countries and Ashkenazim of European origin has virtually disappeared as the Sephardi rate has fallen sharply and the Ashkenazi rate has risen slightly. In the mid-1950s, the former was six and the latter 2.4. Today the nationwide figure of 2.8 holds true for Ashkenazim as well as Sephardim.

It is the Ashkenazi factor that the demographer finds most startling, the rate having increased from 2.5 in the mid-1960s to 2.8. "That fertility has gone down among Arabs and Oriental Jews is not surprising. Fertility is declining all over the Third World, although the decline is accelerated here because of the influence of Jews of European and American origin. What is surprising is that the rate has grown among Ashkenazi non-haredi (non-ultra-Orthodox) Jews in Israel, even though it is a population that knows about the use of contraceptives. I see

this as reflecting a positive attitude towards life. Their average of 2.8 children is a whole child more than the average among white American women, which has been 1.7 since 1973."

There is no specific figure for American Jewish women but it is probably even less than that, said Schmelz, because Jews are at the forefront of the population categories that tend to have fewer children—urban, wealthy, well educated. For a society to maintain its size, a minimum rate of 2.1 is required.

"The Jews of Israel, irrespective of origin, have a fertility that exceed by far that of the Diaspora and of highly developed countries," says Schmelz.

The Jewish fertility rate of 3.6 in Jerusalem is considerably higher than the national average of 2.8, in good part because of the ultra-Orthodox population. In Tel Aviv, the figure is 2.1.

In Jerusalem, the confluence of demographic and migration vectors has markedly narrowed the disparity between Arab and Jewish growth rates, although the Arabs continue to maintain a small lead. A census taken three months after the Six Day War showed 197,000 Jews, constituting 73.5 per cent of the population, and 71,000 non-Jews, the bulk of them Arab. In 1985, there were 328,000 Jews, by now down to 71.6 per cent of the population, and 130,000 non-Jews. There are today an estimated 470,000 residents.

Although Jerusalem's Arabs continue to have a higher fertility rate

than the Jews, Arab migration from the city has considerably levelled the difference. Between 1983 and 1985, even in the absence of significant Jewish immigration, the Jews almost caught up with the Arab growth for the first time since 1967, the respective figures being 2.2 and 2.4.

Although the Christian population in the capital fell from 12,900 in 1967 to 11,700 in 1972, it has since risen, reaching 14,200 by 1985.

Schmelz offers a lower estimate of the ultra-Orthodox percentage of the Jewish population in Jerusalem, 20 per cent, than does the municipality and other academic researchers, who have put it at 27 per cent. The Housing Ministry places it at 23 per cent.

Inside the walls of the Old City, some 23,000 Arabs live, about the same as 20 years ago, but they constitute an ever decreasing percentage of the overall Arab population of the city.

Some 100,000 Jews have settled in new neighbourhoods across the pre-1967 border in Jerusalem, including the Old City's Jewish Quarter (60 families), since the first residents moved into Ramat Eshkol in 1969. More than 27,000 apartments have been built in these neighbourhoods, and another 1,450 are under construction in Ramot, Gilo, East Talpiot and Neve Ya'acov, while 12,000 are planned for Pisgat Zeev in north-east Jerusalem (1,200 already occupied), which will be the largest and the last of the major housing developments to change the face and demography of Jerusalem.

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PROMINENT PALESTINIANS ANSWER QUESTIONS ON CURRENT ISSUES

Jerusalem AL-NAHAR in Arabic 11 May 87 p 4

[Text] The following is the text of the questions AL-NAHAR posed to a number of Palestinian personalities following the statements made by Messrs Rashad al-Shawwa and Anwar al-Khatib about a number of issues that interact in the Palestinian and Arab arenas. The answers of these personalities to the questions follow:

Question 1: Do you believe there is a possibility of holding an international conference?

Question 2: The question of Palestinian participation in this conference arouses disagreements. How do you see the solution of this problem?

Question 3: Do you believe 'Arafat will succeed in resolving the differences with Egypt?

Question 4: Are you happy with the results of the Palestinian National Council meetings?

Question 5: If you met 'Arafat, what would you say to him?

Question 6: What is your opinion of the statements of Rashad al-Shawwa and Anwar al-Khatib, and do you support them?

Deputy Tahsin al-Faris, Deputy for the Nablus District

[Answer 1: Most certainly! It is the only opportunity granted to the Israeli people and one of the few remaining opportunities for the Arab nation. Previous experiences have proved that wars produce no results. I think the time has come for the Palestinian and Israeli peoples to become aware and perceive that peace must be brought about by rational means and peaceful negotiations.

Answer 2: I think that any negotiations without Palestinian representation will lead to no result, given the fact that the Palestinian people are those with the right to negotiate and to accept or reject any proposals that might be raised by the Palestinian national conference.

I think the Palestinian people must have the right of veto over any resolution, even if the great powers want to impose it on the Palestinian people. I think the PLO has realized that it must attend such a conference and speak its opinion frankly.

Answer 3: Yes, 'Arafat is not far in his thinking and mind from the Egyptian-Arab position. Therefore, however wide the gap between 'Arafat and the Egyptian leadership, restoration and reestablishment of these relations is an easy matter in which there are no contradictions.

Answer 4: Any consensus of opinion on the part of all the Palestinian factions is welcome to the residents of the occupied West Bank, who hope for Palestinian reconciliation and see in it a hope for movement for the liberation of the people from the occupation.

Answer 5: I would say to him, "You ought to go back to the Palestinian-Jordanian agreement and to the 11 February agreement." I would give him a telescope through which he could see the Palestinian people under the occupation.

Answer 6: Rashad al-Shawwa and Anwar al-Khatib are among the best of the Palestinian people. They have been experiencing the real state of affairs for a long time and represent a wide cross-section that reflects domestic sufferings.

Ribhi Mustafa, Deputy for the Bethlehem District

Answer 1: I think the question has to be, "Are there parties ready to go to the international conference or not?" The possibility of holding the conference is raised nowadays as if the dispute were about the place of the conference, the shape of the table at which negotiations will take place, or the clothes the negotiators will have to wear. On the other hand, the conference is the subject of disputes involving its future conception. The conference Peres is thinking about is not the international conference that Jordan, Egypt, and Syria envisage. There are differing American and Soviet interpretations and patterns for the conference. I sense in the question the hint of another question: Do I approve the holding of the international conference?

I think the international conference is the available formula for ending the Arab-Israeli conflict within the presently given realities.

Answer 2: The Palestinians are faced with three options; there is no fourth. They may either participate in the proposed international conference as an independent team. This calls for understanding the acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

Or they may participate in a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. This calls for understanding how to deal with the reality that Jordan is like a principal party to the conflict, that Jordan is involved in the case, and that Jordan has accepted Resolution 242.

The third option is not to participate. This option will put them in the position of having to give the people of the occupied territories an answer to the question of what the alternative is.

Answer 3: This question must be addressed to Mr 'Arafat personally. He is the person most able to know the points of agreement and disagreement with Egypt. As they say, the matter of the house best knows what is in it.

Answer 4: The question of whether I am happy or not is not important. What is important is the question of whether there is anyone who places weight on my being happy, or whether there is anyone upset about my not being happy. It was the Caliph 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, God give him honor, who said, "Satisfying everyone is an unattainable goal." Then why don't we begin with the question of how we are to realize here the aspirations of the masses of the occupied territory by freeing them from occupation and settlement? At that point, if we achieve the liberation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip from occupation--then, if someone stands up and demands liberation of the homeland from the [Jordan] River to the sea, we shall say to him, "Satisfying everyone is an unattainable goal."

Answer 5: The hypothetical question puts 'Arafat in the position of a listener and me in the position of speaker. Why don't we ask what 'Arafat would say if he met me and if I explained to him what we are suffering and enduring under the occupation?

Answer 6: The value of the statements of Hajj Rashad al-Shawwa and Professor Anwar al-Khatib is that they are statements expressing what is going on in the mind of the ordinary citizen. The value of any political statement is usually measured by the distance between it and the expression of the sufferings and hopes of the masses. The statements of al-Shawwa and al-Khatib are therefore statements of important political value. In addition, Hajj Rashad al-Shawwa and Professor Anwar al-Khatib are not speaking for the people of "Formosa." Given their long history in the struggle, they are men with a claim, a land, a homeland, a history, and a destiny. They speak about matters that concern them and about emotions they feel.

With the feeling of a Palestinian citizen who was very moved to hear al-Shawwa and al-Khatib, I appreciate their initiative in speaking for the ordinary people who encounter thousands of problems and dangers under the occupation. With this understanding and appreciation of these statements, I believe they are too big to put within the confines of support or lack of support. They are valuable. The others must deal with them on the basis of their being a powerful current in which true feelings and true commitment to the homeland are present.

Deputy Edward Khamis, Deputy for the Bethlehem District

Answer 1: I think so, but it will face difficulties in the first stage.

Answer 2: On the basis of there being a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

Answer 3: I think he will succeed in settling his differences, but relations will not return to what they were previously.

Answer 4: The truth is that I support the restoration of unity between the Palestinian factions, but on condition that it not be at the expense of the relations of the Palestinian people with certain Arab states that have a direct relation with the Palestinian issue.

Answer 5: I have already met 'Arafat and have spoken frankly with him on the basis of not irrevocably breaking relations between Jordan and the PLO.

Answer 6: I think they expressed the feelings of the overwhelming majority in the occupied territories.

Jamil Sabri Khalaf, Mayor of Jericho

Answer 1: The international conference is a long and difficult operation, but we hope it takes place and that all the difficulties and obstacles to it are overcome, so that prosperity and peace for all parties can be realized.

Answer 2: I think the principal party in this subject is Jordan, in the first place, followed by Egypt and Syria. These are the Arab states that can choose the Palestinian personalities who are suitable and appropriate for participating in this conference.

Answer 3: We ask all brother [Palestinians] and fellow [Arabs] to work to end their differences, since that is in the interest of their brothers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. We also beg them to coordinate their policy with each other, because that will be to everyone's benefit. I think Egypt is like a mother to the Arab-nation. Also, Jordan has a presence on the West Bank and relations with the citizens there. On this basis, all the problems can be overcome.

Answer 4: No comment. This meeting was like the other meetings that preceded it. I do not know what the results of this meeting will lead to and whether its results are destined to be actualized and last.

Answer 5: I would say to him that it is a pity that a separation took place between the PLO and Jordan, since there must be complete agreement with King Husayn and the Jordanian government, because Jordan has rendered and is rendering services to this country and its people.

Also, everyone knows that the only exit from the West Bank is Jordan and the East Bank. Were it not for that, God only knows what would happen to us here.

I ask Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] and the other brothers to give their hands to King Husayn and the Jordanian government, because Jordan will remain a principal party in this matter.

Answer 6: I support every well-intentioned citizen and on all the levels who loves his country's welfare and peace. What concerns me first is that there be serious and effective work to make the international conference succeed so that peace can be achieved.

Dr Yasir 'Ubayd

Answer 1: Yes, I believe there is a possibility for holding an international conference in spite of the various apparent difficulties, because the interest of all parties would be realized by holding such a conference.

PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat has announced that he wants to attend this conference. Likewise, Jordan, Egypt, and Syria have announced that the international conference is the way to achieve peace in the Middle East.

The United States has announced its encouragement for this conference, according to the Shultz letter and the (Clifarius) letter. The remaining obstacle is Israel, and it centers on the Likud's unwillingness to yield part of the territory in return for peace, thus contradicting Security Council Resolution 242, which was previously accepted by the government of Israel. I therefore think pressures will be directed toward holding the conference.

Support for holding the conference has also been announced by the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and the Common Market countries, because there is no other sign of a relaxation.

Jordan has officially announced its rejection of the alternative proposed by Shamir, direct negotiations.

Answer 2: In my opinion, any informed Palestinian can represent the Palestinians' viewpoint, provided the PLO agrees to this. In my opinion, the solution to the Palestinian problem lies in agreement with Jordan, whether about the results before the conference or after the conference.

Answer 3: I hope he can mend his differences with Egypt. Egypt is the largest Arab state and has the greatest influence in solving the problem, particularly because it is the only Arab state that can talk to the Israeli side, which is one of the parties to the dispute.

Answer 4: I am happy about the uniting of the Palestinian factions. However, I am very sad about the negative consequences regarding relations with Egypt, and especially with Jordan and Morocco. I hope the Executive Committee remedies these matters with the parties concerned.

Answer 5: I would ask 'Arafat to announce that he is ready to negotiate at the international conference for the achievement of a peaceful and realistic solution to the Palestinian problem as quickly as possible. Any delay will lead to negative consequences from the geographic and democratic

point of view, springing from settlement and economic incorporation into Israel, with the Arab areas become small oases in an environment differing socially, culturally, and politically. The cities of the West Bank should not come to be in the situation of Lod, Akko, and Yafa.

Answer 6: I support the statement of the two and everything they said, because they expressed the views of the great majority of residents of the occupied areas, who are hoping for any sign of hope that will restore them to Arab rule, extricate them from the authority of the occupation, and leave any Arab differences aside to be resolved later.

Dr Husam 'Abd-al-Hadi

Answer 1: Without doubt, all indications on the international, Arab, and Palestinian level are moving toward the holding of the international conference. The matter depends on Israel. Its acceptance of the conference would mean implicitly that it agrees to the establishment of a Palestinian state confederated with Jordan, which is the minimum acceptable on the Arab and international level.

Answer 2: If the conference is held, certainly the PLO will be sent an invitation to participate in the conference to be held on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The matter depends on the PLO. However, it will certainly be represented in one way or another. Its attendance at the conference is one of the prerequisites for its success.

Answer 3: We have begun working in 1987 from where we finished working in 1983.

Answer 4: I abstain from answering.

Answer 5: "My brother, Abu 'Ammar, my hope is that the national issue, political development, and the challenges of the present will stimulate Palestinian changes so as to create an insurgent system within the revolution. The situation does not allow for waiting; the treatment does not admit of delay. We need a courageous breakthrough in the problems and a way out of the situation we are in. You must shoulder the responsibility for renewal, development, and boldness of choice."

Answer 6: I am not in a position to give lessons and sermons to others, but I would say that each citizen has the right to think in the manner he considers best and that we must look for the meeting point among ourselves. I believe that if anyone claims to have a monopoly on wisdom and to mean a solution by himself, it will lead to putting everyone, including the person who makes such a claim, outside the arena, according to the principle that says, "Everything has an evil of its own kind."

Pharmacist Basmm Hannaniya

Answer 1: Although I support holding the international conference with the participation of all parties, including the PLO, I believe Israel is

not serious about it and is only maneuvering for its particular interest, in particular the holding of early parliamentary elections for the benefit of the Labor Party.

Answer 2: The PLO must participate in this conference in the way that the PLO itself approves, with representation to be joint between it and Jordan-i.e., a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation whose Palestinian members are approved by the PLO.

Answer 3: I am unhappy about the decision taken by the PLO at the recent session of the Palestinian National Council in Algiers. I think it was the result of pressures by certain individuals in the organizations that participated in this conference. I really hope 'Arafat succeeds in resolving his differences with Egypt, in view of its political weight on the Arab and international scene on behalf of the Palestinian issue. We all know Egypt's sacrifices in its wars with Israel.

Answer 4: As for the cancellation of the 'Amman agreement between Jordan and the PLO, I do not approve this point. The agreement is not between two leaders; it is between the Jordanian and Palestinian people. In my opinion, agreement between two peoples cannot be cancelled, particularly since 'Arafat stated when he signed the agreement with King Husayn that the agreement was historic and in the interest of both peoples.

Answer 5: Were I to meet 'Arafat, I would say to him that we are suffering a great deal under the Israeli occupation and that we hope there will be a solution with PLO and Jordanian participation to restore the West Bank, Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip to Arab sovereignty in a way that will preserve the honor of the Arabs.

Answer 6: I support the statements about the essence of the problem that Rashad al-Shawwa and Anwar al-Khatib gave during their recent conversations and statements to the media. However, there were some side points and interpretations brought up, such as preferring one Israeli political party over another. In my view, all the Israeli parties are the same and are working for their private interest, especially since they have the same goal.

Engineer Shukri al-Harami

Answer 1: My belief is that chances for holding this conference are slight, due to Israeli opposition to it in all its forms. The Labor party wants a conference empty of meaning. The [Likud] Bloc does not want the conference at all. As long as there are not ample international and, particularly, American pressures on Israel, chances for holding it appear very slight.

Answer 2: No solution without us, the Palestinians, exists. We are the parties to the case. As for the problem of our representation, our being present within an Arab delegation does not diminish our rights at all. I have the conviction that we shall lose nothing additional, after having lost everything in the setbacks of 1947-67, if we are present within an

through critical periods. Egypt and its leaders have been subjected to strong criticisms and attacks. Some of its personalities have been subjected to strong criticisms and attacks. Some of its personalities have been subjected to assault, even murder. All these things, however, did not deflect Egypt from offering more aid and support. I think Egypt will return as has been its custom to supporting the cause by all means and to supporting the PLO's efforts to lift the nightmare of the occupation.

Answer 4: The National Council meeting was limited to solving the problems within the groups of the PLO. We were hoping that through the conference positive results would be announced for those living under the occupation. But the understanding of what the land and people are being subjected to under the occupation was not at the required level.

Answer 5: I would say to 'Arafat, "As long as you are the representative of the Palestinian people and in a position of power, it is your duty [to take as your slogan] 'I want a solution.'"

[Answer 6: There is no doubt that Rashad al-Shawwa and Anwar al-Khatib are among the Palestinian personalities who have most experienced the Palestinian problem. I believe they have the ability to understand the problem and to maneuver because of their knowledge of the ways in which Israeli politics operates and their knowledge of the leaders of Israel, the occupier. I believe their statements about the Jordanian role in solving the problem have their justification. Their views overturn the claims of the leaders of Israel that Jordan is the Palestinian's alternative homeland. Furthermore, according to what has been published attributed to Messrs Anwar al-Khatib and Rashad al-Shawwa, the PLO is far from signing by purely Palestinian hands any ending of the problem.

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Arab delegation. However, this is by definition an academic question because the chances for holding such a conference appear slight.

Answer 3: The question is not one of differences between 'Arafat and Egypt. The question is whether the PLO will be convinced of Egypt's view of Camp David or whether Egypt will be convinced of the PLO's view and abandon Camp David. As the Arab poet said: "One whom you have not fitted out for the journey will come and bring you news."

Answer 4: The results will be meaningless as long as the PLO's differences with Syria and Jordan are not resolved. The Jordanian-Syrian rapprochement and good relations between the two countries have emptied the conference of any significant content. As long as the differences with Syria are not settled, the crises will return to within the ranks of the PLO.

Answer 5: Were I to meet Brother Abu 'Ammar, I would tell him to try to concentrate on content before concentrating on staging. Although the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai was considered a moral victory for Israel and a moral defeat for Egypt by the rejectionists, it was much better than the moral victory that took place when the resistance left Beirut. I would also tell him to learn from the lessons of history. Today, the PLO is doing everything in its power to get close to Egypt, even though a few years ago it accused of treason anyone who supported rapprochement with Egypt. Is "farsightedness" "treason" in the Palestinian dictionary? What has changed: Egypt, or Camp David?

Answer 6: We previously support and now support the statements of Hajj Rashad al-Shawwa. We have become accustomed to his realism, frankness, and courage. We support the statements of Mr Anwar al-Khatib, governor of Jerusalem. We welcome his courage. How we yearned to hear the voice of reason coming out of Jerusalem, far from exaggerations and mock heroics. We wish his excellency the governor continued health and an auspicious return to the Palestinian political field after a long absence.

'Afif al-Khatib

Answer 1: I believe it will be difficult to hold the international conference because of the conditions being announced by the parties to the issue. However, if bilateral agreements approved in advance by the parties are present before the beginning of the international conference, the conference could be held to announce the agreements that have been reached.

Answer 2: I believe that Palestinian participation in the international conference must take place through the attendance of Palestinian representatives most of whom are from the occupied territories. The PLO must take into consideration the extent to which the citizens in the occupied territory respect the representatives who are assigned. It must take into consideration their awareness of the history of the Palestinian problem and their feel for the bitter reality under the occupation.

Answer 3: People have come to know that the Egyptian government and the people of Egypt are good-hearted. The Palestinian issue has passed

LAWYERS' GUILD OFFICIAL CONDEMNS NUMAYRI'S ISLAMIC LEGISLATION

Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 13 May 87 p 4

[Interview with Muhammad al-Wasilah Muhammad, secretary of the Lawyers' Union: "The Lawyer Muhammad Al-Wasilah: The September Laws Were a Cover for Numayri's Regime and Mankind Has Gone beyond Their Provisions because of Their Damage to Basic Values"]

[Text] Yesterday AL-SIYASAH began a discussion with Arab legal figures on the growing tendency in the Arab world to apply Islamic law as a sole source of legislation. We confined the conversation, as far as many aspects of it were concerned, to the framework of the issue that concerns application, and this without a doubt clashes with many complex modern facts which from day to day assume an international character. Thus, the choice of social systems is not contingent on people's desires alone but also is something that is interconnected to the greatest degree in its general human context.

While we talked with the head of the Union of Egyptian Lawyers, Ahmad al-Khawaja, concerning some general contexts of application in a theoretical manner in yesterday's instalment, in today's instalment we will shed more light on actual features of application which the Arab people in the Sudan experienced as a consequence of the September laws Ja'far al-Numayri codified.

For this purpose, AL-SIYASAH met with the secretary of the Union of Sudanese Lawyers, the attorney Muhammad al-Wasilah Muhammad, and had the following conversation with him:

The Pitfalls of September

[Question] What are the basic pitfalls of the September laws which stipulate that the provisions of Islamic law are to be applied in the Sudan?

[Answer] The council of the Union of Lawyers in the Sudan opposes the September laws for a number of reasons, foremost among which is that these laws were not issued through sincere intentions. Their purpose was to extend the life of the deposed Ja'far Numayri's regime.

The second reason for the opposition the union mounted against these laws was that they contain fatal errors, since they rely on the penal code,

specifically, the most important law, one which receives special attention, and moreover these laws came to be formulated in a confused manner, which caused them to be invalid. For this reason, for example, these laws were founded on the definition of felonies which prevailed in the Sudan in 1925, that is, the same definition the English set out when they occupied the Sudan, a definition which in its form and essence is secular. As it is said, the legislators came and froze the penalties of Islamic law. For that reason, these penalties assumed an inconsistent form.

The form the other side of the issue assumes is that humanity has gone beyond the penalties which have been imposed since they lead to the destruction of basic values related to human rights and in this respect conflict with the international charter, which the Sudan has signed and committed itself to. Therefore, they are humiliating penalties which are not in keeping with the modern condition of mankind.

Pluralism and Proportionality

[Question] Did these laws manage to be consistent with the state of religious pluralism of Sudanese society? What political problems have they created?

[Answer] These laws also raise a complicated problem, since in the society in the Sudan the population is broken down into three religions, the Islamic, Christian and pagan religions, and we find this problem more prominent in the south, where we find that the people embrace Christianity as a religion or are pagan. Thus, the application of the provisions of Islamic law to them involves great injustice and to a large extent diminishes their right of citizenship.

For us to know the depth of the crisis these laws led to, it is enough for us to realize that the front for the liberation of the Sudan, which John Garang is leading, set out a precondition for sitting down at the negotiating table in the constitutional conference that was to be held to discuss the subject of the south, and the form that this condition assumed was that action be taken to eliminate the September laws first of all.

Statement and Application

[Question] Some people consider that the application of Islamic penalties will bring about the protection of the society and that it is a guarantee of the extirpation of crime. To what extent has this statement been realized in the Sudan?

[Answer] The September laws ignored a necessary condition of Islamic law which must be present upon the application of Islamic penalties. In order for their application to be valid from the standpoint of Islamic law it is necessary first of all to establish a society of mutual solidarity or a society of sufficiency and economic justice, which was not present in the Sudan when these laws which were applied were imposed, when the country was suffering from drought and famine in addition to economic conditions in the Sudan which are still are extremely difficult -- conditions that were

imposed because of the economic policies of the former regime which had not been carefully studied, putting the Sudan in debt to the extent of \$10 billion. It was an essential condition that this bad economic situation be reflected in a negative manner on all aspects of life in the Sudan and that the individuals of the society live in stifling living conditions. However, in spite of these circumstances, these laws were applied. What justice could cutting off hands bring to a society where the majority is suffering from poverty?

[Question] In this case, what alternative has been presented by the Union of Lawyers? Do you believe that it will realize justice in law for the Sudanese society?

[Answer] The Lawyers' Union has called for and participated with the public prosecutor (the minister of justice) in the revision of the laws which prevailed before the issuance of the September 1983 laws, by considering them the minimum that had been agreed upon by all parties. It is a source of optimism that the prime minister, Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, has promised to embrace these laws and issue them as an alternative to the September laws.

The Sudanese Alternative

[Question] To what extent have the forces the April upheaval brought to the fore managed to offer an acceptable alternative in the Sudanese context to the September laws and other laws and statutes of government which Ja'far Numayri's regime relied upon?

[Answer] The 6 April upheaval basically brought democratic life to the fore in the Sudan, and that is a form of life which has been totally applied in all respects. Freedom of expression is guaranteed and the other basic freedoms also are guaranteed, because the constitution which governs this stage is the 1956 constitution amended in 1964 and 1985 and is a constitution founded on the basis of free liberal democracy and guaranteeing freedom to form parties, assemblies and organizations without restriction, as well as guaranteeing political and religious belief and guaranteeing the freedom to express this belief, including freedom of the means for expressing it.

With respect to government, this constitution establishes that on the basis of the democratic system, stipulating the formation of a system of three levels. At the head of it stands the constituent assembly, which is the legislative assembly; this is elected in a free direct manner and people who obtain the highest votes through competition open to all exercise the representation in it. The elections cover about 300 districts and it is through parliament that the cabinet, which is the executive system, is formed. Its formation is either through the majority or through the two major parties as is the case now, and the cabinet has no absolute freedom to act.

The third level in the regime is represented by the council of the head of state, which represents the sovereign power in the country. Parliament elects that as well. It is composed of five members. The third power, which enjoys total independence, is the judiciary authority, and the chairman of the judiciary, who is responsible to no one but the head of state and the council of sovereignty, stands at the head of that.

The Presence of Application

[Question] To what extent, however, has the Sudan managed to put what you have mentioned into application?

[Answer] There is a basic criterion for realizing this fact and the form that assumes is that the latest elections were 100 percent free and clean. Our proof of that is that no party presented any contestation of fraud or manipulation even on the part of the people who did not meet with luck in the elections. This matter constitutes a gain for the new political system in the Sudan. On the other hand, it is correct to say that democracy has been subjected to some problems and people might refuse to have anything to do with it; in my view though they are temporary problems which will disappear when the causes which imposed them disappear.

11887

CSO: 4504/253

AUDITOR GENERAL DESCRIBES PROCEDURES, FINDINGS

Khartoum AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 18 May 87 p 5

[Interview with Auditor General Sulayman 'Abdallah Hajjar by Shadiyah Hamid: "Internal Audits in the Organizations and Departments Is Weak!"]

[Text] The auditor general's office is a bright torch on the forehead of the people. It is the only organization which has taken the initiative from the first instant to tear out the roots of May in the April upheaval and although it realizes fully that the internal audit departments in organizations are lacking accounting systems and qualified personnel, the office has continued to work, and thanks to the employees in it is continuing the auditing of financial conduct day and night.

AL-SIYASAH met with the auditor general, Sulayman 'Abdallah Hajjar, in a conversation to ascertain the auditor general's role, duties and views regarding the boards of directors and pursuit of settlements! Although AL-SIYASAH was insistent on describing further acts of embezzlement, the auditor refused to divulge any data on any acts of embezzlement because he rejects the principle of provoking and confusing the performance of certain companies and organizations, stating that their role is just to review financial performance!

AL-SIYASAH: The law on the auditor general has defined the general framework of the office's activity in accordance with the professional rules in effect internationally. What are the auditor's duties in this context?

The auditor general: In the context of the steps the law has spelled out, it has paved the way for furthering the process of development which has occurred in auditing methods over the long range and long term. This will make it possible to audit and evaluate work methods over periods of time. In addition, defining duties in accordance with the law has absorbed all the developments which have occurred in the profession up to the most recent developments in the process of work surveillance, which is a very advanced stage of oversight activity.

The office is striving to put itself on the proper course or the proper road in order to reach it in the short term, and if the office is to be able to

reach that stage it will require the joining together of many efforts on the part of the agencies of the government in devoting attention to and furthering accounting activity, in particular in the area of the closing of accounts on time, which is the safety valve for the presence of effective fiscal surveillance. He added, "At the same time, the final accounts are a basic index in the process of evaluating financial performance and thus in the evaluation of performance as a whole and the extent to which this performance is effective, because the process of evaluating performance requires the measurement of this performance by economic criteria, competence and effectiveness, and it is a comprehensive process which is of concern to all the agencies of the government with varying goals and varying organizations or systems and activities."

AL-SIYASAH: What is the major objective in carrying out audits? Doesn't the internal administration in the units carry out what is required? Why are acts of embezzlement not published?

The auditor general: We as a sensitive agency possess a great amount of information which is of concern to the organizations and we are also concerned upon publishing the information not to infringe upon the organizations' reputation, because the main goal of auditing is to deter the people who cause the commission of such acts of embezzlement and financial violations and prevent others from it. In the past we have earnestly sought to create the pioneering vanguard role which the office will perform for the sake of engaging in its areas of competence and bearing its responsibility in full. This is the role that has been spelled out for the office's pursuit of the audit of all government agencies without exception or the pursuit of practical, professional steps which will make it possible for the performance of this audit to evaluate internal surveillance systems and choose the effectiveness of these systems, as well as carrying out documented and supported audits of bookkeeping and final account maintenance operations in order to ascertain their validity then give reports on them and express the auditor's opinion regarding them.

AL-SIYASAH: There are some organizations which are plagued with inadequacies with respect to internal auditing. How do you explain that and what is the solution in your view?

The auditor general: It is true that there are inadequacies in internal auditing. We have observed that most accounting personnel lack accreditation and training, and most organizations fail to have strong accounting systems. It has also been confirmed to us that this reference has often appeared in reports for years and it was for this reason that the bold step the office carried out, the rectification of this situation by unearthing and confronting officials in all locations in order to arrive at an agreement to correct this situation, took place. In fact, the auditor general's office has expressed its readiness for the rectification process, and therefore to take the initiative to design accounting systems for a number of organizations, provided that the office be charged with applying them. The office has also appealed to the entities granting loans that it is necessary to support the financial and accounting system in each organization with the requisite competence in order to take charge of the process of financial administration

which can offer technical advice on financial matters to the extent the volume of the work and the financial resources of each organization or company require. The auditor general said, "All these were serious, practical, effective steps in the direction of correcting the disruptions most organizations are suffering from. In fact, some very small organizations have benefitted, but we stress that it is the beginning of the pursuit of the proper road and if we proceed in this manner we will of necessity cover all the organizations at the soonest possible opportunity."

AL-SIYASAH: Some boards of directors submit estimated budgets. Don't you believe that these budgets lack planning and that there are some companies which have not been audited for more than a number of years and submit their reports?

The auditor general: The boards of directors are the bodies which by law plan the course of the organization and if the budgets are fabricated they will unquestionably be discovered when the audit is complete. We would also like to stress that the report on budget performance is part of the audit report and that all deviations from estimated budgets will be subjected to questioning and investigation. There are serious steps on the part of all the organizations to close their accounts and send them to the office since teams from the office are covering their audit now. For example, as an example, not exclusively, the northern agricultural organization has not submitted its accounts for a number of years and now it has been audited for a period of 6 years!

AL-SIYASAH: Is it true that the auditor's office has not received any reports from some internal audit departments?

The auditor general: The internal audit departments are part of the management in some organizations, submitting their reports to the chairmen of the boards and on some occasions to the general manager. That is the normal situation in all areas of the world, since the audit section or internal audit department is one of the important, effective elements in oversight which help management impose its dominance and supervision of activity in the organizations. Therefore, if these are just a facade or their level of performance is weak, this is management's responsibility, and the first thing we, as an office, document on engaging in our areas of specialization in carrying out our auditing tasks is the extent of effectiveness and competence of the internal audit department. This is determined as follows:

The subordination or independence of internal auditing, whom it presents its reports to, and whether it has the independence and adequate protection which will prompt it to present its reports impartially.

The competence of the personnel working in the internal audit department and the extent to which they are qualified to perform their duties.

The evaluation of the internal audit reports and the measures the management takes regarding these reports.

These are the bases on which our evaluation of the role of internal auditing is founded, and in the light of this evaluation it is subsequently

determined if the audit is to be based on the internal auditing activity or not, and what the office has brought up and suggested to all the agencies of the government has been to strengthen the internal audit departments as a basic, vital, effective element in rounding out financial surveillance of public money. One should bear in mind that the responsibility of preserving public money and tightening surveillance is first and foremost the responsibility of the competent government agency and not the responsibility of the auditor general's office.

AL-SIYASAH: What is the responsibility of the auditor's role in auditing companies and organizations?

The auditor general: First and last, that is the responsibility of the chairmen of the agencies and units and managers of the organizations and companies belonging to the public sector. It is a full responsibility, in accordance with the jurisdiction of the job and the financial laws and bills in effect. The role of the auditor general's office is to make reports on the financial performance of all government organizations or agencies, companies and organizations, whether it corresponds to the financial bills and laws in effect, whether the final accounts and financial lists appended to them state the financial status of the unit concerned and whether they give a true picture of the financial status of the financial unit and the state of its revenues and expenditures.

Mr Hajjar said, "The responsibility of the office is to audit government agencies without exception in accordance with the rules and statutes and the auditing profession methods recognized internationally and locally, while observing the provisions of the constitution and without infringing on any provisions."

AL-SIYASAH: The auditor general's office has made sudden visits to units and organizations to reveal various aspects of deficiency. Are these visits still going on?

The auditor general: The auditor general's office has not stopped the sudden visits, because they are part of its work and if they are declared they will be not sudden. This is one of the steps which the auditor follows, and the law gives him the right to perform these visits.

AL-SIYASAH: What if after an audit it becomes apparent to you that cases of embezzlement exist? How much have the total acts of embezzlement amounted to?

The auditor general: If there are any financial violations or acts of embezzlement, this is a task that is separate from and independent of that of the auditor, and it is called investigation and examination. In our estimation, it is a task peripheral to the auditor general's job, but it entails provocation which in most occasions is the fate of philanthropic material. We are against casting doubts about human trust, and while there are people who hold boards of directors to account, that is not part of the responsibility of the auditor general. However, we send our recommendations and in our estimation the government must seek an alternative to what the general

assembly does in the public sector. The reports the auditor general's office presented to all the related bodies concentrated on the points of weakness in the internal surveillance systems in the various organizations and companies, and therefore none of the audit reports are missing references to this. For example, the total violations for the fiscal year 1984-85 in all departments came to 5.26 million, of which about 157,000 were recovered, and in 1985-86 the total acts of embezzlement and violations came to about 3,525,000 pounds from various departments and organizations, of which about 143,000 pounds were recovered. As to the declarations the auditor's office opened, these were 145 in 1984-85 and 193 in 1985-86. The auditor's office, after submitting its report on the charge of embezzlement to the chairman of the unit, asks them to take the legal measures and monitor the progress of the measures that are taken.

AL-SIYASAH: On many occasions, after acts of embezzlement are discovered, some organizations turn to the measure of settling them. These measures went on in the period of the transitional government. What is your view?

The auditor general: It is true that in the defunct era settlements were made and these in my personal opinion were among the most serious things which encouraged the continuation of embezzlement and the appropriation of public money. In fact, an increase in the magnitude of acts of embezzlement became apparent to the office after these settlements were made because of the absence of deterrent criminal and administrative punishment! The performance of settlements was one of the deposed president's innovations. I believe that there are people who do not have authority to bargain over public money, and most of these settlements were made in the days of thorough justice. The legal measures must not be suspended upon the performance of any settlement!

11887

CSO: 4504/253

COMMERCE MINISTRY'S GUM ARABIC PRICING POLICY CRITICIZED

Khartoum AL-RAYAH in Arabic 5 May 87 p 1

[Article: "The Ministry of Commerce Is Failing To Market Gum Arabic"]

[Text] Informed economic sources have revealed to AL-RAYAH that gum arabic marketing this year has been faced with a real crisis which has led to a 50 percent drop in its sales, and this has resulted in the country's loss of an opportunity to market leftover quantities which account for half this year's production.

These sources added that the Ministry of Commerce's insistence on selling at high, unrealistic prices has caused the country to lose about \$41 million, after its rejection of offers from a number of European countries to buy at the price of \$3,500 a ton, which represents an appropriate price in the framework of competition from low-price synthetic alternatives.

That prompted the Sudan's agents to avoid making purchases for this year or to reduce their purchases below their usual volume, since the Sudan's sales of gum arabic to the United States dropped from 15,000 to 4,000 tons while the MacIntosh international firm reduced its monthly purchases of gum arabic by 60 percent.

The Sudan's total gum arabic sales came to 20,000 tons as compared with 40,000 tons in past years.

Observers state that the gum arabic company, which is in charge of marketing this commodity, cannot at the present time back down from the high prices the Ministry of Commerce has declared lest it lose its agents, who made purchases from it at these prices. This means that the remaining volumes are fated to go into storage and the Sudan will lose its traditional markets in the framework of strong competition from synthetic alternatives -- whose per-ton price comes to about 30 percent of the price of gum arabic.

These sources criticized the minister of commerce's policy regarding the country's exports and described it as mismanagement, waste of the country's resources and deprivation of the public treasury of millions of dollars because of its failure to market the main crops.

BRIEFS

SOLAR POWER USE—The energy research council in the Sudan, in cooperation with a West German body, is taking charge of developing the uses of solar power in the Sudanese countryside in a number of vital areas, most important of which are water heating, lighting, cooling and the operation of television sets to receive general and educational programs. So far two television sets operating on solar power were installed about a year ago in two villages in the Central Region and work is going on now on the installation of 10 new sets. In the area of lighting, three types of solar lanterns have been distributed in a number of villages for lighting in schools, police posts and other facilities. Field experiments are still underway to expand the use of this low-cost technique. [Text] [London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 16-22 May 87 p 34]

CSO: 4504/253

BRIEFS

FRENCH INTERCESSION FOR GHANNOUCHI--Tunisia witnessed on Thursday, 23 April 1978, for the first time since 1981, demonstrations for the release of al-Ghannouchi, leader of the Islamic Tendency Movement. Demonstrators are again demanding his release after his arrest again on several charges that might lead to a death sentence. The only difference between the demonstrations then and now is that the demonstrators previously limited their slogans to the cause of their leader. This time, however, they went too far. They denounced the regime, set fire to cars, and damaged some property. Security authorities have clamped a lid on the incidents but leaks indicate that there were injuries among the demonstrators and the police. The security forces, as soon as the clashes occurred, descended with full force including armored cars, blocked the streets, and arrested "Islamic students" who demonstrated. Foreign diplomatic observers in Tunis emphasized the extreme significance of these demonstrations even though they did not spread and were limited in number and scope. One commented that "such a show of force has prime political significance." Recent demonstrations in Tunis indicate that "Islamic groups, subjected for months to arrests, pressures, and various accusations of being "the agent of a foreign power," "dared" to take to the streets and confront security forces; that that demonstration could be the vanguard of others graver and wider in scope, especially if al-Ghannouchi, leader of the Tendency Movement, were executed; and that the demonstration could seriously damage the tourist season, especially if matters heat up. The Tunisian government is preparing for an active tourist season after the previous season fizzled. France, in an effort to avoid a full-blown confrontation, has asked its former ambassador to Tunisia, Eric Rouleau, to intercede with Tunisian authorities against the execution of al-Ghannouchi and his people to keep the situation from deteriorating and exploding beyond control. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 2 May 87 pp 13, 14] 12945/9190

TUNISIAN MEETING WITH IRANIAN OPPOSITION--A lengthy clandestine meeting recently took place in Italy between a prominent Tunisian official and a delegate from an Iranian group opposed to the present Iranian regime. The meeting, held under the auspices of an Italian official, discussed in detail all aspects of Iranian policy towards the Arab world in general and Tunisia and the Arab Maghrib in particular. The first of its kind, the meeting was held 2 weeks after the Tunisian government severed

diplomatic relations with Iran "charging" it with supporting and encouraging "extremist Tunisian elements" to work against the present regime. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 25 Apr 87 p 17] 12945/9190

BATTLE FOR SUCCESSION--The removal of Hedi Baccouche, administrator of the Tunisian Constitution Party, who was replaced with Abdelaziz Ben Dhia, former minister of social affairs, is further proof that "the war for succession" has escalated, that the serialized drama of "the war of succession" is not yet over, and that sooner or later new surprises will elevate some members of the club and drop others. Observers believe that the removal of Hedi Baccouche from the party's management has removed the "first line of defense" for Zine El Abdine Ben Ali, minister of the interior and a rising star in Tunisia. Ben Ali, according to reliable sources, recently confronted President Bourguiba with the reality of the explosive situation in the country and with the necessity for cooling it off by such measures as refraining from executing the leadership of Islamic Tendency. President Bourguiba was alarmed and hastened to remove Baccouche. Moreover, daily developments indicate that Mansour al-Skhiri, presidential chamberlain and minister of administration and transport, is a rising star. This takes on additional meaning since he hails from al-Munastir, Bourguiba's hometown, whose mayor he was for many years. As the "war of succession" continues at the summit, the situation at Tunisian universities has boiled up to the degree that clashes occur daily and that professors have written the authorities demanding a stop to surveillance of students and to drafting them into the military, otherwise the academic year will turn white, or a year without exams. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 25 Apr 87 p 17] 12945/9190

RELATIONSHIP WITH ISLAMIC FINANCE INSTITUTIONS--A statement by the office of Tunisian Prime Minister Rashid Sifr commended Islamic finance and investment institutions and lauded Tunisia's ongoing ties with them. The statement said that "even though the economy is generally a function of known rules and controls, being inspired by Islamic values bestows upon it the fidelity, truth, and honesty required in financial and commercial transactions between individuals and states." It added that "the Islamic Bank and the Islamic House of Finance are models of fruitful cooperation with public and private financing institutions as dictated by the principles of our great religion and in order to accomplish Islamic solidarity and support the march of development in Islamic nations." Tunisia was among the first to invite Arab capital and joint ventures because of many considerations in the interests both of Tunisia itself and of the Arab sources of capital. Tunisian economic development plans were based on three vital-sectors--tourism, industry, and agriculture. They lack the necessary funds and therefore need to attract Arab capital with certain facilities under the law in order to encourage it to invest in those sectors in accordance with the development plans. Investors, on the other hand, find Tunisia desirable because of its stability, investment climate, opportunities for investment in tourism, etc. The Tunisian government is careful that Arab financing and joint ventures conform to the legal and organizational framework of the Tunisian economy. Investments from the Gulf, whether by governments or by individuals, have played a role in

Tunisian development in general and tourist projects in particular. Some of the larger partners have an Islamic character, such as the Islamic Bank, the Islamic House of Finance, etc. It is understood that they seek investment opportunities away from usurious interest rates and practices. The Tunisian statement was issued to clarify a misunderstanding following a remark the Tunisian prime minister made to an economic magazine which almost created a crisis between Islamic investment organizations and official Tunisian agencies. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 25 April 87 p 32] 12945/9190

CSO: 4504/226

PAPERS REPORT DEVELOPMENTS IN INDO-U.S. RELATIONS

5 May Lok Sabha Discussion

New Delhi THE HINDU in English 6 May 87 p 7

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 5.

The relations between India and the United States in the recent past, especially in the context of the reported leasing of the U.S. airborne early warning system, AWACS, to Pakistan formed the basis of an inconclusive discussion under Rule 183 in the Lok Sabha today. Most speakers wanted the Government to reject the 'tiny' U.S. aid package being offered to India and questioned the wisdom of sending the External Affairs Minister, Mr. N. D. Tiwari, to Washington after the Congressional approval of the military aid package to Pakistan.

Initiating the discussion, Mr. Saifuddin Choudhury (CPIM) said the AWACS' lease to Pakistan was "pointedly directed against India" and its purpose was "to subvert India's independent nonaligned policy." He said the U.S. move was one in a series of attempts since the Asian Relations Conference in 1947 to destabilise the country. Mr. Choudhury commended Nehru's 'foresight' in charting India's independent foreign policy.

Mr. Choudhury wanted the Government to "take a firm stand" in rejecting the U.S. economic aid package and the supercomputer offer. "They cannot humiliate us with their conditions and strings." He wanted the Government to "come clean" and clarify two reports in a section of the press. The first alleged that India had taken Israeli help to train the Prime Minister's security guards and the other said that the Government was reconsidering India's stand of not

signing the nuclear nonproliferation treaty.

In an emotion-charged speech, the former Foreign Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, (Congress-I) said that "once more Indo-U. relations are in pieces." He laid the blame squarely on the U.S. for the current state of relations and more specifically on what he called the military-industrial complex. "Every attempt to foster Indo-U.S. relations has been sabotaged by this powerful lobby," he said.

What was of particular significance in the current situation was that the U.S. had "given up the pretence" of trying to improve relations with India or persuading Pakistan from going nuclear. He said the U.S.-China-Pakistan nexus had been built up to threaten India. "We can never be pressured and the country will stand up to defend ourselves," he said.

Mr. V. B. Ramiah (TDP) urged the Government to "maintain our dignity" while considering the acceptance of the U.S. aid package. He wanted the people-to-people contact with the U.S. to be maintained and strengthened.

Mr. G. G. Swell (Congress-I) said a "hard headed appraisal of Indo-U.S. relations" was the need of the hour. He said the only way India could stand up to the political and military pressures around it was to build the bomb. "The language of strength is the only language the big powers understand," he said.

The former foreign service officer, Syed Shahabuddin (Janata) said there was something drastically wrong with the conduct of India's foreign policy.

Natwar Singh in Lok Sabha

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 7 May 87 p 1

[Text]

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, May 6.

THE minister of state for external affairs, Mr. Natwar Singh, today told the Lok Sabha that a massive supply of sophisti-

cated arms, including AWACS, to Pakistan was likely to put considerable strain on the bilateral relations between India and the U.S.

Mr. Singh, who was replying to a discussion on Indo-U.S. relations, said

that his recent visit to the U.S. was in the line of a mature conduct of diplomacy. He had not gone there to seek favours but only to put forward India's viewpoint on the supply of AWACS and other arms to Pakistan which will be used against India and not against Afghanistan.

He said that during his meeting with the U.S. leaders he had pointed out how the supply of arms would start an arms race in the sub-continent. The \$1.2-billion worth new arms offered to Pakistan covers sophisticated weapon systems for army, navy and air force.

"We deeply value our friendship with the U.S. and would like to improve it. We will see what they do in the next few weeks," he said.

Quoting from a speech by the U.S. under-secretary of political affairs, Mr Michael Armacost, Mr Singh said that those arms were being given to modernise the Pakistan army in the light of "Soviet pressures" on Afghanistan.

"How are you going to define pressure," asked Mr Singh and added that this was the first time, instead of "Soviet presence", the under-secretary had used the word "Soviet pressure". This meant that arms supply was not

any more correlated with the Soviet presence in Afghanistan as indeed sooner or later there was bound to be an agreement on this point during the talks in Geneva.

The under-secretary, in his speech, had said that one of the aims of the U.S. policy was to reduce tension between India and Pakistan. It was not clear how this objective was going to be achieved by supplying arms to Pakistan.

This was also pushing up India's defence budget because experience showed that the American arms supplied to Pakistan were used against India. After the emergence of Bangladesh, the Pakistan army should have been reduced by 50 per cent. But that was not the case. The army had doubled and the air force had more than doubled.

Mr Singh said that the U.S. wanted India to discuss the nuclear issue with Pakistan as a bilateral issue. But India believed that it was not a bilateral issue but an international one and therefore should be discussed in that framework. India could not be pushed into signing a non-proliferation treaty.

He denied that Indo-U.S. relationship had gone to pieces as was stressed by Mr B. R. Bhagat, a former foreign minister, yesterday during the discussion. Mr Singh said that if there were differences in perception in one area there were agreements in the other.

India wanted to have healthy, mature and friendly relationship with the U.S. He pointed out that the U.S. was India's largest trading partner.

He did not agree with Syed Shabuddin (Janata) that there was no consistency in India's policy towards the U.S.

Several MPs advocated better relations with Pakistan.

Significantly, most congress members who spoke in both the houses of Parliament on Indo-U.S. relations, came out very strongly in favour of India going nuclear.

In the Rajya Sabha yesterday, Mr Kapil Verma (Cong.) argued that India should make the bomb as a deterrent to Pakistan.

Mr Vir Sen (Cong.), in the Lok Sabha strongly advocated a review of India's nuclear policy.

Tiwari Visit Postponed

Madras THE HINDU in English 8 May 87 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 7.

The External Affairs Minister, Mr N. D. Tiwari, has postponed his week-long visit to the U.S. scheduled to begin on May 10 citing "unforeseen reasons".

The brief official release this evening said: "Mr. Tiwari was scheduled to visit the United States from May 10 to May 16. Due to unforeseen reasons the visit of the Minister has been postponed to a more appropriate time".

Though the official spokesman was not immediately available for comment, it is believed that the last minute postponement of Mr. Tiwari's visit was intended to signal India's disquiet over recent Reagan Administration moves to strengthen Pakistan's military capabilities. The latest U.S. decision has been to accede to Pakistan's request for leasing the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) overriding India's objection that it would be used against it rather than Afghanistan.

In recent weeks the Reagan Administration and the House and Senate committees have gran-

ted Pakistan waivers of the Symington Amendment for two years and approved a \$4.02 billion aid package to the Zia Administration. In a show of gratitude and also to indicate the close military alliance between the two countries, the Pakistan President, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, donned his military uniform and took the salute aboard the American aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk when it berthed at Karachi harbour early last month.

During the Lok Sabha discussion on Indo-U.S. relations recently, members from almost all political parties expressed strong misgivings over the Reagan Administration's rebuffs to Indian positions on vital issues like the super-computer deal. Some of them, including the initiator of the discussion, Mr. Saifuddin Choudhury (CPI-M) described the recent U.S. visit of Mr Natwar Singh, the Minister of State for External Affairs, as a failure in view of the concessions being granted to Pakistan. He had also suggested along with other members that Mr. Tiwari consider cancelling his visit to the U.S.

Washington Held To Blame

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 8 May 87 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

The discussion in the Lok Sabha on Indo-U.S. relations earlier this week bore ample testimony to the strength of feeling in this country against the Reagan administration's policies in south Asia. Barring an odd voice here and there speakers on both sides of the House made it unmistakably clear that Washington is squarely to blame for the deterioration in Indo-American relations. Its decision to upgrade Pakistan's defence capability, possibly including the supply of an air-borne surveillance system, and its indifference towards that country's nuclear weapons programme reveal an altogether callous disregard for India's perceptions not only of its own security requirements but also of the larger issues of peace and stability in the region. The U.S. administration now appears to be more determined than ever before to provide Pakistan with the wherewithal it needs to promote American strategic designs vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and Afghanistan even if that upsets the military balance in south Asia to the detriment of India. From there to argue that the U.S. is engaged in destabilising this country requires no great feat of the imagination and this is precisely the argument advanced by some speakers in the Lok Sabha discussion, including those belonging to the ruling party.

But the show of resentment against the U.S., no matter how legitimate, cannot detract attention from the dismal truth that New Delhi has very little clout to decisively shape the course of events. Indeed, as seen from Washington, India appears to be reduced to the role of a helpless spectator even in the Sri Lanka conflict. Given this view of India, any improvement of Indo-U.S. ties must be ruled out for the foreseeable future. In the meanwhile it would be counter-productive to dismiss as of no consequence efforts to pursue the dialogue with Washington on a host of issues that are of common concern to both countries. For one thing, as the minister of state for external affairs, Mr Natwar Singh, pointed out in his reply to the Lok Sabha debate, there is scope to increase Indo-U.S. cooperation in less contentious areas such as trade and science and technology. For another, Congressional pressure on the administration not to tilt so heavily in favour of Pakistan as to strain Indo-U.S. ties to the breaking point need not be discounted altogether. Within the administration itself there may be second thoughts on acceding to all of Pakistan's requests for sophisticated weaponry. It is significant in this regard that the U.S. defence department has acknowledged that the leasing of American surveillance planes to Pakistan, would not only run counter to American law but that such a move would also have a "definite and serious impact" on U.S. military operations. These points cannot give much comfort to India but they do suggest that the administration may be entertaining some doubts about how far it should go in its own interest to strengthen the "strategic alliance" with Islamabad.

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 11 May 87 p 4

[Text]

What are the main components of the policy of the Reagan administration towards India? Is the assessment of Minister of State for External Affairs Natwar Singh that there has been "considerable progress in bilateral cooperation" between India and US nearer the reality? These and many other questions concerning Indo-US relations have cropped up during the recent weeks.

The fact that the week-long official visit of External Affairs Minister N D Tiwari to the US has been postponed indefinitely due to "unforeseen reasons", confirms that India's foreign policy experts have begun to give a fresh look to the Indo-US relations. In this sense the euphoria exhibited by some experts about the normalisation of relations between New Delhi and Washington seems to have reached a dead end, though there are some experts who still cling to the theory that "calculated indifference" of the Reagan administration towards India should not be equated with hostility.

There is no doubt that since India became an independent and sovereign state, it has been witnessing several fits of extreme bellicosity, anti-Indianism and aggressiveness within the US ruling circles. On one occasion or the other Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi came under bitter attack.

But the situation today has begun to unfold certain dangerous trends in the American policy towards India. It is probably this aspect of what may be called the "new American policy towards India" which has escaped the attention of Indian experts on America — both official and non-official experts who provide "feed-back" to the South Block.

One obvious reason is that these experts are still engaged in a futile exercise of evaluating the American policy towards India with old parameters of "equidistance" between the two super-

powers. They cling to the concepts floated by Western experts such as "triangle of relations" — India-US, India-USSR and India-China.

If one makes an objective analysis of the new contours of the US policy towards India, it becomes clear that since the early eighties, it has been hardening and in the recent one or two years, it has begun to follow the "toughest" policy. The reason is that a slow, arduous, but irreversible process of socio-economic transformation which is under way in India and its policy of nonalignment and anti-imperialism are impeding the US ambition of world domination and that too at a time when Washington has begun to lag behind other capitalist countries such as Japan.

Therefore, the American ambition to dominate Asia, Africa and Latin America cannot be achieved unless India is forced to change its course of internal and external policies. This conclusion is not based on any subjective estimate.

In January 1985, US Secretary of State George Shultz, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said:

"America, after Vietnam retreated for a time from its active role of leadership.... Today, the cycle is turning again. America has recovered its strength and self-confidence. America is again in a position to have a major influence over the trend of events — and America's traditional goals and values have not changed.... Our duty must be to help shape the evolving trends in accordance with our ideals and interests".

This shows that the American policy-makers have come to the conclusion and that too very recently that the "Vietnam syndrome" was over and the United

States was strong again and could, therefore, proceed to put things in order all over the world as it saw fit in line with its ambitions.

This new US "self-confidence" is obviously directed against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. But this is not the whole reality. In 1981, Alexander Haig, then Secretary of State, said that "an American approach to the Third World requires an acknowledgement of the problem presented by the Soviet policy".

It was in the midst of this loud thinking by the American policy-makers that the Reagan doctrine, or the doctrine of "neoglobalism", to use its other name, was proclaimed in 1985. Though this doctrine was directed against progressive developing countries — "from Afghanistan to Nicaragua", in the President's words — the doctrine is actually directed against all the developing countries, and the most important among them is India. This conclusion is confirmed by a number of facts.

The *New York Times* of 9 December, 1985, describing the Reagan doctrine as the "most important conceptual movement in US foreign policy", openly advocated that Washington should intervene "in the Third World countries without regard to particular local conditions".

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, the US administration considers it as its *right and duty* to help rebels who take up arms to fight pro-communist governments anywhere, from Nicaragua to Angola, from Afghanistan to Kampuchea. It implies that the White House will not hesitate to help forces of subversion and destabilisation in all those countries where "undesirable governments" are in power.

When attempts to destabilise Libya failed, coercion was used to economically destabilise that country. In July 1986, after having cut its "aid" to the Republic of Zimbabwe, the United States decided to suspend 13.5 million dollar aid to it on the eve of the eighth conference of the heads of state and government of NAM in Harare. Typical from this point of view was the collective move by a group of Western countries against Syria on the pretext of the alleged complicity of Syrian officials in an attempted act of terrorism against an Israeli plane.

There has been a marked shift in the American policy towards the Third World countries and India is no exception to this. US policy towards the Third World countries has unfolded several new features and they need to be analysed if one has to understand its current policy towards India.

One can tentatively say that the American policy towards India has three main components and all these three are inter-related. They are:

- (i) Reinforcing security relations with Pakistan;
- (ii) Calculated policy of hostility towards India and its leadership; and
- (iii) Cultivation of anti-Indian consensus with the smaller countries of the region, the countries in the neighbourhood of India in particular.

The US-Pak relations, including massive economic and military aid to Pakistan, need to be seen in this context.

It is, therefore, not enough to say that the Reagan administration was creating tension in the region by supplying sophisticated arms to Pakistan. There is something more than what meets the

HINDUSTAN TIMES ON POSTPONEMENT OF TIWARI VISIT TO U.S.

BK241616 Delhi THE HINDUSTAN TIMES in English 9 May 87 p 9

[Editorial: "Saving a Trip"]

[Text] The Indian Government's decision to postpone External Affairs Minister Narain Dutt Tiwari's visit to Washington until better times is easily understandable. Apparently, New Delhi has come to the conclusion that Mr Tiwari's mission is not going to change the Reagan administration's policy towards the region in general and Pakistan in particular. Mr Tiwari was to visit Washington for no other reason than to explain to the people who fashion policies there that U.S. perceptions of South Asia are not realistic and that its policy of arming Pakistan is increasingly heightening tensions in the region. The Tiwari mission was perhaps aimed at explaining to the U.S. administration why Pakistan does not need the AWACS, or some other airborne early warning system, and its induction in Pakistan will harm India's security interests. Minister of State Natwar Singh was in Washington on a similar mission. Mr Tiwari could not have succeeded where Mr Natwar Singh had failed. What might have clinched the decision to postpone Mr Tiwari's visit was perhaps the report that Washington is considering an early announcement about its plans to lend or lease to Pakistan AWACS or a related airborne early warning system. Such an announcement during or soon after Mr Tiwari's visit to Washington would have proved embarrassing for the Indian Government.

The virtual cancellation of Mr Tiwari's visit only underlines the growing realisation in New Delhi that not much can be done to pull the Indo-U.S. relations out of the morass. Washington will go on arming Pakistan because of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and even if Soviet troops vacate Afghanistan for other reasons, one of which is that Pakistan has become a watching post in the Gulf after the fall of Shah of Iran. It will be idle for Washington to make attempts as has been done in a speech by U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Michael Armacost to disabuse India of the belief that supplies of sophisticated U.S. arms to Pakistan do not endanger India's security. Washington's desire to balance off its offer of AWACS to Pakistan with that of a super computer to India is not really going to impress New Delhi. India is also unhappy at the demand the Reagan administration is making on it that it should sign a sort of regional nuclear non-proliferation agreement with Pakistan. Mr Armacost's speech makes it clear that Washington cannot be convinced about India's case for keeping its

nuclear option. With differences between India and the United States sharply defined on such vital issues, not many hopes can be raised for an improvement in Indo-U.S. relations for quite some time notwithstanding increasing co-operation between the two countries in combating terrorism and drug trafficking and in the spheres of science and technology.

/9599

CSO: 4600/1746

ANDHRA PRADESH CHIEF MINISTER CALLED 'CIA AGENT'

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 9 May 87 p 9

[Text]

HYDERABAD, May 7.—Mr Bhagwat Jha Azad, AICC(I) general secretary, has stirred a hornet's nest by dubbing the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr N. T. Rama Rao, a "CIA agent" out to destabilize the Government of Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

Mr N. V. Chandrababu Naidu, general secretary of the Telugu Desam, challenged the Congress (I) to either prove the charge or withdraw it, failing which the "people would teach them a lesson".

Mr N. V. Sreenivasulu Reddy, Revenue Minister, said it was strange that after three years of Mr Rama Rao's visit to the USA for a heart surgery, the Congress (I) should spread a canard that the Chief Minister went to America to "hatch a conspiracy against India."

Apart from Mr Azad, Congress (I) leaders in the State, including the former Chief Minister, Mr K. Vijayabhaskara Reddy, were out to discredit Mr Rama Rao for convening a meeting of 13 "like-minded" Opposition parties in New Delhi on May 14 and 15 to provide an alternative to the Congress (I) at the Centre and in selecting a consensus Presidential candidate.

In a Press statement released here today, Mr Rama Rao criticised Mr Gandhi for withholding information sought by Mr Zail Singh on the recent defence purchases from Sweden and West Germany. Describing the act as "undemocratic, unstatesmanlike and an insult to the 800 million people of this great country", he said it was calculated to "besmirch the dignity and status of the highest constitutional entity".

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CSO: 4600/1728

EXPERTS SAY AWACS USELESS TO MEET AFGHANI VIOLATIONS

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 3 May 87 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 2 May--Defence experts have established that the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) Pakistan was getting from the USA could not be used to meet air violations from Afghanistan but "are definitely meant for use against India," reports UNI.

The experts have questioned the logic of Pakistan seeking to meet the threat of Afghan air violations of 1985 with AWACS in 1990-92, or beyond, as compared to ground-based radars available within the country and procurable and deployable within matter of months if not weeks.

The ground radars could be sited by Pakistan to the top of the hills close to the Afghan border to provide better radar coverage by looking down into the valleys. The experts have pointed out that in the ultimate analysis a political approach would be more effective from every point of view and serve Pakistan and U.S. interests better. It is also believed that Pakistan needs AWACS to support its naval operations in the Gulf of Oman where the only worthwhile naval force is that of the USA.

An analysis of the suggested scenario to justify supply of AWACS to Pakistan reveals that the terrain over which the Pak-Afghan border lies is an extremely rugged, mountainous one, and the actual border itself is not clearly established, leave alone demarcated and the Durand line is still a unresolved issue. It is, therefore, obviously impossible to ascertain that an airspace violation has taken place at least up to a couple of kilometres on either side of the claimed border line.

In operational terms, Afghan helicopters may be expected to hug close to the bottom of the valleys and gorges and thus avoid detection for almost the entire flight profile.

Combat aircraft are unlikely to pop up over the hills except in exceptional circumstances and would execute contour flying in the valleys in radar shadows for as long as possible.

Simple arithmetic would show that the AWACS would, at best, pick up Afghan combat aircraft around 45-50 km from the border, that is around

three-and-a-half minutes away. Tactical use of terrain to mask the flight would reduce the warning to as little as 15 km or one minute.

Experts point out that almost all Pakistani air fields are 250 km or more from its western borders and an F-16 aircraft already on airborne patrol over the airfield would take 11 minutes, from the time the threat is detected, to reach the area of possible hostile intrusion by which time the "intruder" would have completed its strike mission and be back nearly 90 km inside Afghan territory.

Experts say that the time dimension increases markedly further with the F-16s on ground alert (a more probable scenario). The only chance of a successful interception would be in the case of Pakistani Air Force fighter presence in the area of likely intrusion.

Since the initiative to choose the time and place of intrusion would rest with the Afghan Air Force, any solution structured on ground-based SAM missiles and anti-aircraft artillery along a 2,500 km border in inhospitable terrain would be equally ineffective and problematic.

Thus, the topography of the Pak-Afghan border regions, limitations of even airborne radars and response reaction times really point towards the ineffectiveness of the AWACS on Pakistan's western borders against border violations, the experts conclude.

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CSO. 4600/1726

EFFORTS TO FORESTALL, COUNTER PAKISTAN AWACS

Madras THE HINDU in English 7 May 87 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 6.

The certainty of Pakistan receiving some form of airborne early warning and control platform has created deep disquiet among Indian defence planners. Ever since the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Caspar Weinberger's October 1986 disclosure that the U.S. would be prepared to supply Pakistan with an AWACS type aircraft, there have been attempts by India to figure out ways of dealing with the problem. During the Soviet General Secretary, Mr. Gorbachev's visit in November 1986, the Indian side sounded the Soviets with regard to possible counter-measures for the AWACS system. It would appear that the Soviets, besides offering their Mainstay system, gave a briefing about other electronic counter-measures using electro-optic sensors/laser devices that can affect the complex electronic guts of the AWACS.

Lobbying effort: However, Indian policymakers hoped that the Democrats in the U.S. Congress, who had finally gained majority in the Senate as well, would forestall the introduction of the new 'force-multiplier' into the region. Considerable lobbying effort was undertaken by India in the U.S. involving resident Indians there, and through a lecture tour by a senior Air Force officer currently attached to the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses in New Delhi. The idea was to build up the pressure in Congress through visits by the Union Minister of State, Mr. Arun Singh and, if necessary, the Defence Minister too. Unfortunately, it was evident by the end of February that Pakistan had not only stalled any adverse pressures in the various Congressional Committee hearings but managed to gather substantial support. The end product of the process was pressure on India to come to an accommodation with Pakistan and a cut in the nominal aid appropriation for India.

So now the Indian defence planners are in a dilemma. In the meantime, they have had time to evaluate the Soviet Mainstay AWACS and found that it was not adequate for the Indian requirements since its ability to pick up low-flying aircraft over the land was poor. Further its capability for multiple data links was not adequate.

Indian programme: The Indian Airborne Surveillance, Warning and Control System (ASWACS) programme is currently moving

along somewhat slowly. Intervening in the Defence debate in the Rajya Sabha, the Union Minister of State for Defence Research and Development, Mr. Arun Singh, was clear that the ASWACS programme was merely at a technology or concept demonstration stage requiring considerably more time to come up with a workable product.

The implementation of the programme, coordinated by the ASWACS organisation, is divided between Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd., and the Bharat Electronics Ltd. The former has the responsibility of developing an airframe, which means at this stage basically the development of the characteristic rotodome of a AEW aircraft for integration with an Avro HS-748 aircraft. This is a far more complex task than it sounds as it involves detailed design and development of a complex aerodynamic structure, lengthy wind-tunnel tests etc. The BEL, with the assistance of some foreign companies, is trying to get together the ASWACS electronic package. This will consist of a search radar, an Identification Friend or Foe (IFF) system, a passive detection system, a UHF and HF data link system as well as avionics related to the platform itself.

A defensive system: The ASWACS will be an airborne early warning platform and will not have, like the AWACS, the ability to control and direct an air battle. In this sense it will be a defensive system and this is borne out by the fact that to reduce its complexity, it will be linked and thus be made to utilise the capabilities of the existing Air Defence Ground Environment System (ADGES) that provides radar cover to our frontiers.

The plan was to have the first airframe prototype with the rotodome structure flown at the end of this year, but there are reports that this has been delayed for a year. Given the complexity of the electronics, which the Soviets have yet to master and the British failed to master for their Nimrod system which was scrapped last year, only the most strenuous effort will produce results. Unfortunately, there are indications that the magnitude and audacity of the task may have convinced some that there is no point in going through with the exercise. The current appropriations seem to be on the lower side and the slippage of targets are a result of this.

In these circumstances, if there are some noises being made about asking the U.S. for an

AWACS they should not be surprising. The only problem is that the U.S. has a very clear-cut policy with regard to arms transfers of this type: Friends and allies first and the others later. The problems with the super computer sale as well as deliberate delays in the processing of some other licences in Pentagon do not bode well for an Indian application for the acquisition of an AWACS.

Doubts over SAMs: So, it is not clear as to what the Indian options are. There has been some brave talk of "knocking out" the AWACS by SA-5 long-range surface to air missiles (SAMs) or by massed attack by interceptors. There are problems in the approach. An attack by fighters on the AWACS will certainly result in unacceptable casualties. The SA-5 missiles are certainly capable in terms of range, but their efficacy may be doubtful since their capabilities have been exposed since the American raid on Libya.

The alternative option is the one followed by Iran which is using its highly capable F-14 fighters as mini-AWACS. These frontline U.S. aircraft sold to the Shah are even today one of the most potent fighter aircraft flying. While their deadly Phoenix missile system was disarmed by the Americans, they still have their very effective radars. Aircraft like the F-14, with the long-range (200 km. +) look-up look down radars, if used in a chain as it were, can provide at least a limited airborne early warning cover to aircraft when confronted with the AWACS. Indian aircraft will have to operate at an average of 150-200 kms. into Pakistan in the event of hostilities. A few batteries of SA-5s with a 300 kms. range will restrict the AWACS movement somewhat. A screen of mini-AWACS can then possibly give a fighting chance to the Indian Air Force.

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CSO: 4600/1722

TWO MIG-29 SQUADRONS RECEIVED FROM SOVIET UNION

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 4 May 87 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 3.—India has received two squadrons of MIG-29 fighter aircraft from the Soviet Union, giving the Indian Air Force a lethal punch, report UNI and PTI. The Soviets have completed the supply of all the MIG-29s contracted for in a record time of four months.

The MIG-29s were received in batches in so-called knocked-down condition and were assembled at the No. 1 unit of the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited and test flown by Soviet pilots. These aircraft have now entered squadron service with the IAF.

Three more missiles are under an advanced stage of development at the Defence Research Development Laboratory in Hyderabad which has successfully flight tested India's first short-range surface-to-air missile, Trishul.

A spokesman of the DRDL said the missiles were being developed under the Integrated Guided Missile Project, a priority programme of the Defence Research Development Organization.

Preparations are now on to flight test next month India's first surface-to-surface missile, Prithvi. The first Indian missile to carry an inertial navigation system, the liquid-fuelled Prithvi can drop a one-ton warhead at a target 150 km away.

Trishul is the first of the four missiles developed since the IGMP was launched four years ago. The spokesman said Trishul had made four flights so far and after some more trials it would be taken up for production by 1990.

The truck-mounted Trishul can spring into action in just eight seconds and shoot down aircraft 9 km away. It will be soon joined by Akash, another surface-to-air missile with three times the range of Trishul which uses the state-of-the-art thermal imaging system for homing in on aircraft.

According to the DRDL, the medium range missile Akash will be flight tested next year. Capable of tackling multiple targets, Akash can be fired from aircraft as well, and can also be used by the Navy against sea-skimming missiles.

Nag is the name given to the third generation anti-tank "fire-and-forget" missile that is also under development at the DRDL. Employing the advanced infrared imaging system, Nag can destroy a tank 4 km away without any explosive. It is among the class of anti-tank missiles currently under development in the USA. According to the DRDL, all the four missiles will have entered the production phase by 1993.

While, the DRDL has developed the missiles, the ground control systems are being developed by the Defence Electronics Research Laboratory, also in Hyderabad, and are produced at the Bharat Electronics Limited near Delhi. The surveillance radars are being developed at the DRDO's laboratory in Bangalore.

According to a report from New York, India has conveyed to the USA its concern over possible leasing of AWACS to Pakistan—a move that will necessitate stationing of more than 500 U.S. military personnel there.

The Indian Ambassador to the USA, Mr P. K. Kaul, is understood to have conveyed to the U.S. Administration India's concern over this matter. India's opposition was to these sophisticated aircraft being provided to Pakistan, irrespective of whether it is done through sale or leasing, he is believed to have emphasized.

While some senior officials in the Defence Department are said to be opposed to leasing of such aircraft to Pakistan, one view in the Administration and outside is that leasing would be a "lesser evil" from India's point of view because the arrangement was likely to be for a short period and because Americans would be flying them.

Mr Selig S. Harrison, a senior associate at the Washington-based Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is of the view that the objective of American military aid to Pakistan is not limited to the Afghan problem, although that is a major reason. Washington is developing a "broad military relationship" with Islamabad to enable the two countries to cooperate in the event of problems in the Gulf and West Asia, he said.

Mr Harrison, who appeared before Congressional panels when the new \$4.02 billion military-economic aid package for Islamabad was being considered recently, said there were persistent reports that the USA had acquired the right to use intelligence facilities in Pakistan. While there was no definite proof of that, "it appears there is a great deal of smoke—and where there is smoke there is fire", he remarked.

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CSO: 4600/1715

SOVIET ARTICLES INDICATE SUPPORT OF GANDHI

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 May 87 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

The editorial comments in *Izvestia* and *Pravda* on the current political scene in India bring to an end the suspense about the degree of Soviet support for Mr Rajiv Gandhi's government in its hour of trial. The silence of the Soviet media on the rush of dramatic developments in the country ever since the publication of President Zail Singh's controversial letter to the Prime Minister on March 14 had served to fuel the speculation that, unlike in the past, such support could not be taken for granted. Indeed, the Soviet media failed to react even after the Congress working committee's "destabilisation" resolution of April 18. Three reasons could conceivably be advanced to explain Moscow's caution. First, in view of past experience, particularly in the wake of the declaration of the emergency in June 1975, the Soviet Union would not wish to be seen to be out of step with the CPI, and now with the CPM, which too has been cautiously seeking a *rapprochement* with the CPSU in recent months. Secondly, the Russians, who have been making overtures to Pakistan, to enlist its help for a political solution of the Afghan crisis, did not wish to endorse a line which cast Islamabad in the role of a key player in the destabilisation game. And, finally, given its assiduous efforts to mend its fences with China, the Soviet Union might not have bought Delhi's stand against a Washington-Islamabad-Beijing axis. As it turns out, the Russians have now decided to discard these reasons, if at all they were valid, to back the Rajiv Gandhi government. While *Izvestia* has denounced the attempts to "pull down the authority of the leader of the country", *Pravda* has candidly spoken of a "veritable plot against the Gandhi government."

Taken together, the editorial comments in the two leading Soviet dailies suggest that Moscow's stand goes further than the one adopted recently by the CPI-CPM, but not quite as far as the one spelt out in the CWC resolution. For example, contrary to the CWC, both newspapers lay greater emphasis on the internal, rather than external forces, to explain the grim challenge faced by the Rajiv Gandhi government. The *Izvestia* thus singles out the BJP and the "big press" for engaging in efforts to destabilise the situation in the country and for exploiting the differences between the

President and the Prime Minister. Similarly, *Pravda* does condemn U.S. supplies of the latest weapons to Pakistan, but these and other outside factors are only said to supplement the intricate knot of problems. The reference to Pakistan does not, of course, come as a surprise; for recent developments — such as the very real possibility that the U.S. will provide a sophisticated surveillance system to Islamabad — have doubtless persuaded the Russians that any attempt to loosen the “strategic alliance” between the two countries would be to pursue a chimera. Quite clearly the Russians have taken into account the deterioration of India’s relations with the United States and of their own relations with Pakistan to come round to the view that there is no alternative than to back Mr Rajiv Gandhi. Such backing, of course also suggests that in their opinion, the power equations within the country will continue to tilt in favour of the ruling party.

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CSO: 4600/1736

MOSCOW 'SOURCES' NOTE EFFORT TO IMPROVE PRC-INDIAN TIES

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 11 May 87 p 7

[Article by Saeed Naqvi]

[Text]

Moscow: The Kremlin has placed with New Delhi all the data it could monitor, to establish that fears in India of Chinese intentions on the border were exaggerated, highly placed sources in the city told me.

These sources make a distinction between "Indian fears" and "fears in India," implying that the Indian government knows better and that some lobbies may be posing the Sino-Indian dispute at the awkward time when the Sino-Soviet rapprochement, including the boundary question, is progressing satisfactorily.

There is near unanimity among senior China hands in Moscow that improved Sino-Soviet relations could well have a salutary effect on Sino-Indian relations as well. The obverse is not always spelt out.

The situation today is totally different from what existed in the 60s and the 70s. Witness China's attitude towards the non-aligned movement and its recognition of India's leading role in it. No longer do the Chinese support insurgencies in India as they once did in Nagaland and Mizoram. Nor are pro-Maoist groups being supported in West Bengal and Kerala. Their stand on Kashmir is relatively balanced, these sources maintain.

Most important, in their view, China's entire attitude to territorial disputes has undergone a favourable change.

Take for instance Deng Xiaoping's formulation that territorial issues between China and other countries could be solved in two ways:

- One state and two systems as in the case of Hong Kong, Macao and possibly Taiwan; and,

- Joint utilisation of territory that is claimed by two countries—let the ultimate solution be left to future generations.

"In earlier years the Chinese used disputed areas unilaterally," a senior China specialist said in an officially arranged meeting.

But are these formulations applicable to, say, Aksai Chin or the McMahon line? "It depends on how you apply the present Chinese attitude to territorial disputes to the specific needs of your diplomacy," he said.

The Soviets feel relatively sanguine about Chinese attitude to territorial disputes largely because of the progress they appear to be making on the settlement of their border, particularly the 2,000 km stretch of the Amur river. But implicit in the Soviet Union projecting the settlement of its own territorial dispute with China is a small message: you have to make territorial concessions as well.

As spelt out by Mr Gorbachyov in his famous Vladivostok speech last July, the Soviet Union has agreed to draw up its boundary with China midstream of the Amur right up to the Soviet city of

Khabrosk in the north-eastern corner of the disputed boundary with China. "Earlier, the boundary was along the Chinese bank of the river and Chinese fishermen had to take permission from Soviet border guards to fish in the river," said a senior Soviet official. "But now we have accepted the boundary midstream." Since the Amur is a massive river, several miles wide at places, hundreds of islands that form in the river bed are also being conceded to China. "We have conceded as many as 600 such islands, some of them as big as Hong Kong," he said.

The serious dispute that still remains in the eastern sector of the Sino-Soviet border is the junction of the Amur with the Ussuri river just south of Khabrosk. Earlier the two rivers met several miles south of Khabrosk. In recent years both the rivers changed their courses and join just on the southern outskirts of Khabrosk. The Chinese maintain that the river has changed its course in their favour and that the small loop of territory between the old river junction and the new one belongs to China. "It is impossible to make any concessions on this Chinese demand because our industrial city of Khabrosk will become divided."

The other two disputed areas between the Soviet Union and China are a small valley in the Pamirs and a large chunk being claimed by China including the town of Osh, capital of the Badakshan autonomous area in the Tajek Republic of the Soviet Union.

The other intractable problem in the way of normalisation cited by Soviet officials is the way the Chinese view the Kampuchean tangle. In other words, of the three obstacles to normalisation occasionally listed by Beijing—namely, Soviet troops on the Mongolian border, Afghanistan and Kampuchea—it is primarily on Indo-China that Beijing is being implacably insistent. —

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CSO: 4600/1732

CPI-M LEADER TELLS IMPRESSIONS OF PRC VISIT

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 11 May 87 p 1

[Article by Anand K. Sahay]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 10.

IN spite of the current border tension between the two countries, China would respond if India took a "political" resolve to settle the issue which has been hanging fire for a quarter century.

This is the impression gained by Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, the veteran communist leader, during his talks with the Chinese leadership in Beijing recently.

The CPM general secretary is the highest-statured Indian to visit China in a long time (not counting the recent Beijing stop-over of the defence minister, Mr K. C. Pant), and, among others, he had occasion to confer with Mr Deng Xiaoping, still perhaps China's most influential leader.

He is a member of the five-member standing committee of the politburo of the CPC, and chairman of both the Central Advisory Commission and as the Central Military Commission. Above all, he is the Chinese leader who mooted the concept of a package deal with India to solve the border issue.

The seven rounds of border talks between India and China in the past five years, interspersed with outbreaks of psychological hostilities (not counting the Chinese armed thrust in Arunachal Pradesh last year as anything more than an exercise in coercive diplomacy), have all been at the bureaucratic level, and have been in the nature of fencing sessions with both sides doing no more than make unsuccessful attempts to gauge each other's mind.

Jumping from this position to a publicly-declared political commitment by India that it would be willing to settle it all, official sources say, is something of a steep proposition, for India does not have any idea of the Chinese thinking on the matter. What if China does not respond even to the show of a first move toward a political resolve? This is a deep-seated inhibition the Indian government entertains.

While Mr Namboodiripad is naturally not prepared to disclose his talks with the CPC leadership, he said responding to queries by this correspondent that he had nothing to say about whether or not the Chinese, on their part, were or would be politically resolved to settle the boundary question. Even if he has the answer to this mystery, the CPM general secretary is not saying so.

But he said his party would be perfectly willing to back a political decision by India to sort out the border matter and the 25-year-old deadlock, even though this would necessarily mean overriding a 25-year-old Parliament resolution that "not an inch of territory" would be compromised further to China in the search of a solution.

Life is different, Mr Namboodiripad points out, and says any serious attempt to overcome the thorny issue must necessarily involve give and take on both sides.

NOT-AN-INCH

He is quite clear his party will not oppose the government if it veered away from the "not-an-inch" resolution in a political attempt to get rid of the border issue. But, being a realist, he realises that the government is more likely than not to face opposition from many others in the country. That is why he speaks in terms of "political courage" involved in moving away from the hallowed 25-year-old Parliament resolution.

What kind of give and take? The

Indian communist stalwart is unfazed by this, and simply says it will have to be worked out by both sides sitting down in right earnest. But he makes surprising statement, surprising because it is the first time that the CPM is on record on this. Answering a question he says, that Arunachal Pradesh is an Indian territory.

NEVILLE MAXWELL ARTICLE PART OF PRC ANTI-INDIA CAMPAIGN

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 13 May 87 p 1

[Article by M. J. Akbar]

[Text]

China has clearly launched a campaign to vilify India even as its spokesmen issue warnings from Beijing of a repeat of 1962 if Delhi does not behave. Its chief propagandist in the West, Neville Maxwell, has just outlined in an unusual article for the magazine *South* how India will "attack" Chinese forces in "a triangle of territory at the western extremity of the McMahon Line where that alignment comprising the *de facto* Sino-Indian boundary in their eastern sector, abuts Bhutan."

Neville Maxwell, currently a senior research officer at Oxford University is the author of *India's China War*, the pro-Beijing book about the 1962 conflict in which India and Jawaharlal Nehru are guilty of every crime while China and Chou En-Lai are angels of peace and mercy. This article, significantly, is titled "India's next war" on the cover page of *South* and "Towards India's Second China War" inside. In his tendentious book Maxwell had condemned India as the aggressor who had to be taught a lesson after "examining" the evidence. This time he has done both, condemned India and written the outcome, before the outbreak of hostilities.

The magazine *South* is produced from London, and is funded by the Bank of Credit and Commerce International, (BCCI), which is run by a Pakistani businessman. The bank and the magazine have close connec-

tions with China.

The article by Neville Maxwell is also unusual for the fact that Maxwell does not normally write for the magazine. This is a special piece, obviously done to send a message.

Maxwell notes that the battleground he has identified is the same on which "the Indian Army suffered its first sudden and complete defeat with the overrunning and destruction of its Seven Infantry Brigade. From that fierce but local battle was to develop, a month later, the brilliantly executed Chinese punitive campaign, which routed India's crack Fourth Division and other units and brought the People's Liberation Army patrols to the edge of the Indian plains."

After another reiteration of the Chinese argument in our dispute over the McMahon Line and Aksai Chin, Maxwell then dwells on why another war is imminent. Perhaps without quite intending to, he states the Chinese ambition when he explains what China missed after the 1962 victory: "China's border campaign...in fact failed to accomplish conclusively either of its two fundamental objectives: to bring the Indians to the point of negotiation; and/or, pending a negotiated settlement, to teach them that it was dangerous and self-destructive to attempt to impose the Indian version of the boundary on China by force." The implication is that after China wins the next military round, it will accomplish both its "fundamental

objectives."

Maxwell then runs through the history of the seven rounds of talks between India and China since 1981, and concludes that not only has India no intention of reaching a peaceful settlement but that it has reactivated the "forward policy" of Jawaharlal Nehru "which took them across the McMahon Line in the early 1960s." This has happened "in the past two or three years." The recognition of Arunachal Pradesh as a state is also seen as an indication of India's aggressive designs, which of course is the Beijing position. Hence, "The indications, then are that India has again taken up a collision course with China. With the open door to a negotiated settlement never having been used and armed forces in competition for disputed areas, it appears to be only a matter of time until a clash brings combat."

So far, at least the article progresses with the logic of the Chinese argument holding it together. It is when Maxwell begins searching for "India's motives" that the propaganda element becomes so blatant that it cannot escape even the China-appeasers in our country. First motive: that "elements in the Indian general staff" exist who want to erase the stain of 1962. But Maxwell himself dismisses that as unlikely and takes recourse instead to that old chestnut that a "self-deluded political leadership" will push India's generals into a conflict. This was what the Chinese said

about Jawaharlal Nehru and Krishna Menon too. And why should the Indian political leadership do this? Because India is "fast becoming ungovernable within the established framework."

Maxwell has been an old proponent of the argument that Indian unity is bogus and artificial, and that this country is bound to disintegrate sooner or later.

And this is followed up with the predictable thesis that it is in Rajiv Gandhi's interest to create a conflict with China to protect his own position by using nationalism and patriotism as a means to renewed popularity. This is again something which we have heard from Beijing before, about Nehru as much as Indira Gandhi. (But, this logic of course can never apply to the Chinese leaders for the good reason that, being Communist dictators, they do not have to worry about democratic accountability to the people.)

Turning finally to the military aspects, Maxwell concedes that the Indian armed forces are far better equipped and have far higher morale this time, but then concludes that the absence of a back-up road near the "triangle" where the conflict will start will ensure India's defeat.

The reason why this sudden article assumes importance is that it is, first, authored by a man who has been used consistently by the Chinese to plant their viewpoint in the western media (it would be perfectly normal if this piece was followed

by a "learned" article in, say, *The Times*, London). Second, its timing coincides with the Chinese decision to "warn" us. It appears at the same time as the warning from China's foreign ministry spokesman (on May 6) that China "cannot stand by without taking any action."

Daniel Southerland of the *Washington Post* reported on May 7 from Beijing that the Chinese spokesman, Ma Yuzhen, warned India that if it wanted to "avoid an unpleasant event" then "the intruding Indian military personnel will be withdrawn as soon as possible so as to relax the tense situation." It does not take any imagination to understand what the Chinese mean by "unpleasant event."

If this is not a threat then this reporter has not come across one.

Neville Maxwell has only fleshed out the threat. In the meantime, Chinese missile and troop mobilisation in Tibet, which (as China's post-Nixon allies in the West have chosen so conveniently to forget, and which of course Maxwell can never recall either) China seized and annexed in 1950, has reached unprecedented levels. And Pakistan has reactivated the Kashmir issue. As reported by Yusuf Jameel recently in *THE TELEGRAPH*, General Zia is engineering the demand for the "recognition" of Kashmir as an "independent" country with an "independent" government in Pak-Occupied Kashmir. Only the careless would treat these various clues as a coincidence.

PAPER REPORTS SRI LANKA SEEKING PAKISTANI PILOTS

BK150957 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 8 May 87 p 1

[Article by V. T. Joshi]

[Text] Islamabad, 7 May--In its escalating ethnic violence, Sri Lanka is understood to have requested Pakistan to lend the services of its air force pilots for carrying out sorties and to reinforce the current operations against Tamil militants in the northern and eastern sectors of the island.

The Pakistani Government is believed to be earnestly considering Lanka's urgent request but a final decision is perhaps yet to be taken.

If the proposal is eventually accepted, it will give a new dimension to the Pak-Lanka cooperation in the island nation where Israel's Mossad is reported to be already active, according to observers.

Pakistan's cooperation with Sri Lanka in the field of tactical training in anti-guerilla warfare has been known for quite some time. So also the existence in Sri Lanka of flying instructors of the Pak air force since the middle of 1986. But it is believed to be the first time that Colombo has sought the services of Pakistani combat pilots in its battle against the Tamil militants.

In this context, the visit of the Sri Lankan Prime Minister, Mr R. Premadasa, to Islamabad about 7 weeks ago assumes considerable significance. Observers recall his interview on Pakistani television in which he paid handsome compliments to Pakistan as a real friend of Sri Lanka.

As recently as 24 April, Mr Premadasa, a known anti-Indian hawk, was reported to have told the Sri Lankan Parliament that "any friend who now asks the United States to find a political solution to the ethnic crisis will be considered an enemy." The reference was obviously to India, which promptly described the statement as "extraordinary" and "shocking." The Indian high commissioner in Colombo, Mr J. N. Dixit, was reported to have told the island's acting foreign minister, Mr Tyronne Fernando, that India would have to "consider its implications."

Considered even more ominous were certain erratic and contradictory remarks of President Jayewardene in his interview with Western correspondents 4 days later, on 28 April. He was reported to have described the Indian policy as "Hitlerian."

In the unfolding pattern of their cooperation, the Pak-Lanka relations have been understandably cordial. During his visit to Colombo soon after the first SAARC conference in Dhaka in December 1985 the Pakistani president, Gen Ziaul Haq, paid rich tributes to Sri Lanka and said Pakistan would never forget its help in the past. It was an obvious reference to the transit facilities provided by Colombo to Pakistani air force during Gen Yahya Khan's military crackdown in the eastern wing, then East Pakistan, that eventually led to the birth of Bangladesh.

If Pakistan now responds positively to the proposal for air force pilots to fly sorties for bombardment of Tamil strongholds in Jaffna and Trincomalee areas, it may be justifiably defended as only repaying an old debt.

However, according to observers, it is also bound to complicate the situation further with unpredictable consequences on the trilateral relations among the three major countries of the sub-continent--all the more so since Israeli and Western influences are said to be already playing havoc in the island nation. Some opposition members in the Lankan Parliament were reported to have suspected Israeli hand behind the recent Colombo blast which killed more than 150 people.

/9599

CSO: 4600/1745

ATTACK ON INDIAN TANKER NEAR DUBAI REPORTED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 May 87 p 1

[Text]

BOMBAY, May 11.

THE Shipping Corporation of India's tanker, "B. R. Ambedkar" was attacked by a gun-boat 40 km off Dubai at 6.35 a.m. (IST) today. There was no loss of life or casualty and the ship safely reached Dubai, according to SCI sources.

The tanker, under the command of Capt J. R. Gadvi, with a crew of 62, was proceeding to Kuwait to load crude oil when it was hit four times by the gun-boat, making two holes in the engine room and two holes in the hull.

A fire erupted on board but it was put out by the officers and crew of the ship. After temporary repairs, the ship proceeded to Dubai on its own power. Since the ship was going with ballast (no oil) there was no risk of oil pollution, it was stated.

The chairman of the SCI, Mr L. M. S. Rajwar, accompanied by a senior manager, Mr B. P. S. Dhuma, left for

Dubai tonight to assess the extent of damage and chalk out the future course of action.

"Ambedkar", with 89,459 dwt, was built in 1974 by a Japanese yard and the vessel was on a charter to the oil companies. The tanker was destined to bring crude oil for the Madras and Haldia refineries.

Since the beginning of the Iran-Iraq war seven years ago, at least three ships of the SCI have been hit. In 1982, an Excoet missile hit the bulk carrier "Archana". In 1984, an oil tanker, "Kanchenjunga", was hit by missiles. Over 300 ships have been damaged in the war so far and at least eight of them belonged to Indian companies.

Despite the now usual war climate in the Gulf area and the corresponding war risk insurance, with special war crew and higher freight rates, today's attack has given rise to questions on the international laws of war.

If the attack on the Indian ship had been inadvertent or by mistaken identity, it would have been a part of the "business." But this was not so.

According to informed sources, when "Ambedkar" was challenged, the ship identified itself by furnishing all particulars. After it was made known that the ship belonged to India, the attack began. Though official agencies did not identify the gun-boat, it belonged to Iran.

The attack also violated the United Nations resolution which banned attack in international waters of "Neutral ships." India has a right to claim

compensation from the hostile nation through the International Court of Justice.

India's declared policy has been neutral in the Iran-Iraq war. India continued her trade with both the countries. The current interpretation of a "neutral ship" is somewhat wide and, technically, if a ship was trading with a third country which had a nexus with the enemy, the ship trading with the third country could be declared non-neutral and come under attack.

It is possible that Iran could construe India's trade with Kuwait as an indirect help to Iraq and vice versa, according to experts. There is also what is known as "contraband control" prevailing in the area which restricts the items to be carried by neutral ships, in a war zone.

Incidentally, the National Union of Seafarers of India, at its biennial general body meeting held here on Saturday, expressed grave concern over the growing number of attacks by the two warring nations on neutral vessels passing through the Gulf area, resulting in enormous loss of innocent lives and precious ships.

The International Transport Federation has been raising the issue of safety at sea in the war zone at various international organisations.

The NUSI, passed a resolution requesting the UN secretary-general "to immediately appoint a UN security convoy for providing a protective umbrella to neutral flag ships transiting the Gulf war zone".

/9274

CSO: 4600/1736

GANDHI ADDRESSES RAJYA SABHA ON FINANCE BILL

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 8 May 87 pp 1, 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 7. —The Prime Minister today called upon the State Governments to make greater investment in creating the economic infrastructure necessary to generate wealth, which could be reinvested. The Centre alone could not create that infrastructure.

Replying to the discussion on the Finance Bill in the Rajya Sabha Mr Rajiv Gandhi said the State Governments tended to opt for investments on which they would get quick returns. Instead, they should take a long-term growth perspective. "It cannot be left to the Centre alone."

Mr Gandhi said development must be a joint exercise of the Centre and States. He did not see it in black and white terms of Centre and State. Whatever the Centre invested in was for the benefit of the States, but it was time to strike the right balance in investments.

The package "cleared for West Bengal was not something out of the blue but the result of cooperation with the State Government; similar efforts had been made elsewhere too. That sort of approach must be extended further, Mr Gandhi added. And it must be stressed that every project must be completed on schedule.

The Prime Minister did not accept the criticism that the Centre was not giving the States their fair share of resources. In fact, in the last two years the allocations had almost doubled. The buoyancy in tax returns had also helped the States.

There was all-round concern over containing the budgetary deficit and, Mr Gandhi said, he had no doubt that the Government would stick to its commitment to preventing the deficit from increasing. A Cabinet committee had been formed to monitor expenditure.

There was some reaction from a section of the Opposition when the Prime Minister said the freeing of expenditure to contain the deficit would also mean reduction in the amounts that could be given to the States as relief for flood and drought. Mrs Renuka Choudhury (TD) took objection, asking how were the States responsible for natural disasters?—

The Prime Minister said that when two genuine problems arose, a balance would have to be found but the Centre could not have an open-door policy. Some States tried to finance their entire plan from such relief allocations. Calling for a fundamental change in the style of Government working, in which again the States must cooperate, the Prime Minister said efficiency, accountability and productivity must become key factors—not the amount of money spent.

Turning to industrial sickness, Mr Gandhi said modernization was the only solution. The Government could help now and then but basically the units must function on their own. He said the Government was opposed to the concept of a "no-tax" company. If it could make profits, pay dividends, it could also pay some tax.

Regarding the demand for raising the limit of exemption from income-tax, the Prime Minister said the limit was already 12 times higher than the per capita income, there was no reason to raise it higher.

Mr Gandhi said the Government was trying to work out a new index, instead of everybody going by the consumer price index which had been developed for industrial workers and did not reflect the problems of the rural sections.

In response to a question from Mr V. Gopalsamy (DMK), the Prime Minister said India would

examine what the Aquino Government of the Philippines had done about freezing accounts in Swiss banks and would also see what could be done "on our own". There would be no tolerating tax evaders irrespective of who was involved.

Mr Gandhi said there was nothing wrong with foreign investment in India, even if by multinational corporations. Such investments could accelerate development. But care had to be taken that the multinationals operated "on our terms" and "we are firm on this".

The public sector had a vital part to play in achieving self-reliance and overall development. The Government was committed to its expansion and strength, there was no question of privatisation. However, the sector had to become efficient, generating wealth not absorbing it.

Similarly, there was no question of neglecting the agriculture sector, the basis of the economy. Mr Gandhi claimed that prices were under control, there had been a slight drop in the rate of inflation, "the economy is poised for another year of healthy growth."

Participating in the discussion earlier, Mr Pranab Mukherjee (Ind) called for a tax on agricultural incomes. He saw no point in formulating a long-term fiscal policy in a situation in which the contribution of direct taxes to the GDP was less than 30%. He regretted that whenever the Indian economy was poised to take off, non-issues such as kickbacks, exercised the national energy.

The House later returned Finance Bill to the Lok Sabha.

PLAN RESOURCES

Increasing productivity and improving efficient were two ways to overcome the shortage of resources for the Plan, according to Mr Rajiv Gandhi. Addressing a meeting of the Parliamentary Consultative Committee attached to the Ministry of Planning here today, he agreed that there was need for continuity and accountability in the execution of major plan projects. A suggestion to this effect was made by Mr Ashwani Kumar, MP.

In his introductory remarks, Mr Raja J. Chelliah, Member, Planning Commission, expressed concern at the increase in non-plan expenditure and inadequacy of contribution to plan resources by the public sector which had led to greater reliance on domestic borrowings.

PAPERS REPORT PUNJAB BROUGHT UNDER PRESIDENT'S RULE

Home Ministry Spokesman

Madras THE HINDU in English 12 May 87 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 11

Punjab today came under President's rule, and the Government of Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala was dismissed as the Centre found it incapable of checking the escalating violence, and saw substance in the charges that some State Ministers had been harbouring terrorists. The day-long hectic activities — here and in Chandigarh — reached a climax when the Governor, Mr. S. S. Ray, recommended that the Centre take over the administration of the troubled State. The Union Cabinet met here tonight to accord its approval.

The State Assembly, however, was not dissolved. It is being kept under suspended animation. Obviously, the Centre counted on the possibility — even though remote — of an alternative set-up at some stage in the future.

The President, Mr. Zail Singh, signed the proclamation soon after it was approved by the Union Cabinet at a late night meeting. The President's Secretariat had been informed in advance and his approval was a routine affair — as had been the case on similar occasions in the past.

Text of announcement

An official announcement said: "A proclamation has been issued under Art. 356 of the Constitution imposing President's rule in Punjab. This was done after the President received a report today from the State Governor. The report was considered by the Union Cabinet late in the evening. The President felt a situation had arisen in which the government of the State could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. The State Assembly has not been dissolved."

According to a Home Ministry spokesman, the taking over by the President of the State administration followed a deterioration of law and order situation in the State.

It was felt that a parallel authority by fundamentalists and terrorists had started functioning in the State since April. Citizens had been stricken with fear by the activities of terrorists and

people were migrating from the State. Lawlessness, looting, bank robberies, the burning of shops and kiosks, and the brutal murder of innocent persons had increased, making many of the fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution illusory.

Interference alleged

The Centre, it was stated, was distressed to find that some Ministers in the State Cabinet had been interfering with the functioning of the police. This had lowered police morale and undermined public confidence in the administration.

The Government's assessment, according to the spokesman, was that the State Government was incapable of maintaining law and order and combating the fundamentalist forces and terrorist activities and that the administration could no longer be run in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

Considering that the mind of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and other senior leaders was made up, the Cabinet decision was considered a foregone conclusion. Contrary to expectations, however, the Cabinet took an unusually long time, obviously because the pros and cons of the move generated detailed discussion.

As the meeting was on, news agency messages, about the latest reports from the State, and the reaction of Opposition leaders were being sent in the Cabinet room.

While this was going on at the Centre's level, Mr. Barnala in a last-ditch bid decided, with his colleagues, to convene the Assembly session. Simultaneously, there was an attempt by an unidentified Opposition leader here to dissuade the Centre from the extreme step. The Centre's mind, however, appeared to be made up. Mr. Barnala, too, did not have any illusions about its attitude and therefore, cancelled his plan to airdash to the capital this evening. According to another account, he declined the suggestion from here for a quick trip.

Clear pointers

The pointers thrown up by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and the Union Home Minister, Mr. Buta Singh, were clear and categorical. Without mincing words, Mr. Gandhi accused some Ministers of the Barnala Government of harbouring terrorists and called upon the Chief Minister to take strict action against them.

Addressing the Congress (I) Parliamentary Party this morning, he said he was very much upset by the happenings in Punjab, particularly the increase in the number of killings of late. He was particularly disturbed by the interference by some State Ministers in the functioning of the police and the consequent demoralisation in the force. The party spokesman, Mr. Nawal Kishore Sharma, quoted Mr. Gandhi as having favoured strong action by the State Government against the Ministers whose links with terrorists had been established.

Made explicit

Soon after, the Union Home Minister, Mr.

Buta Singh made the Centre's stand more ex-

The Seventh time

Punjab has come under President's rule on seven previous occasions. The earlier occasions were: June 20, 1951, to April 17, 1952; July 5, 1966, to November 1, 1966; August 23, 1968, to February 17, 1969; June 15, 1971, to March 17, 1972; April 30, 1977, to June 20, 1977; February 17, 1980, to June 7, 1980; and October 6, 1983, to September 29, 1985.

plicit when he told the Lok Sabha that the Union Government was keeping a close watch on the deteriorating law and order situation in the State and that it would not run away from its moral and constitutional responsibility of protecting the life and property of the people of Punjab.

Two-Pronged Strategy

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 14 May 87 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 13.

THE Punjab governor, Mr. Siddharta Shankar Ray, has been advised by the Centre to adopt economic ameliorative measures along with launching an intensified anti-terrorist drive as the strategy under President's rule for restoration of normalcy in Punjab.

Mr Ray, who flew in from Chandigarh today for his first visit to the national capital after imposition of President's rule, called on the President, Mr. Giani Zail Singh, and was with him for 45 minutes.

He had an hour-long meeting with the Prime Minister, during which they discussed the measures to be adopted to effectively check the spate of murders being committed by the terrorists.

As the first step to check any deterioration in the situation, the Centre is reinforcing the para-military forces now deployed in the State. Already, 10 battalions have been sent to vulnerable areas to frustrate any attempt by the terrorists to spread panic through increased killings in a bid to meet the Centre's challenge.

Mr J. F. Ribeiro, director-general of police, on whom Mr Ray seems to be depending entirely for the anti-terrorist campaign is expected to make some changes at the command level of the security forces.

The governor would himself like to

be left free to handle administrative matters and in deciding the economic measures. A sharing of authority thus between himself and Mr Ribeiro is what would ideally suit Mr Ray's temperament.

Mr Ray is expected to attend to the immediate economic problems first. His first task, as he perceives it, will be to help the farmers who have suffered due to damage to crops caused by heavy rain and hailstorm, particularly in Amritsar district.

He is also expected to direct his attention immediately to the task of speeding up the construction of the Sutlej-Yamuna link canal for the supply of the water granted to Haryana by the Eradi Commission.

In the five weeks before polling in Haryana, the Centre would like to give the hope to the Haryana electorate that its share of the Ravi-Beas water would actually start flowing to the state to irrigate its parched fields.

There cannot be a greater electoral inducement to the Haryana voter.

SECURITY STEPS (PTI from Jammu): The security arrangements in Jammu and Kashmir has been tightened to check the possible infiltration of extremists and anti-national elements from Punjab to Jammu and Kashmir in the wake of fresh crack-down against certain forces by the Punjab law and order authorities.

According to sources, the state's border with Punjab has been sealed and elaborate security measures have been adopted especially in the Jammu region to foil any possible attempt of disruptive elements in the region.

Special check posts have been established at sensitive points and the police

assisted by commandos and para-military was keeping a close watch on the situation, the sources said.

"EXERCISE BLACKROSE" (UNI): The Delhi police carried out "exercise blackrose" aimed at testing the forces' readiness in dealing with the challenge posed by terrorists.

Selected areas, understood to be prime targets for terrorists, were heavily patrolled by police posses in jeeps and the ability to detect and intercept suspicious vehicles was "successfully tested," a police spokesman said.

POLICE ALERT (Simla): The Himachal police have been placed on maximum alert to check any possible infiltration of terrorists from the neighbouring Punjab.

In another development in Amritsar, a presidium member of the unified Akali Dal, Mr Gajja Singh, has been arrested and taken to Delhi.

Punjab Governor's Report

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 13 May 87 p 5

[Text]

Punjab Governor S S Ray's report to the President recommending dismissal of the Barnala Ministry, tabled in the Lok Sabha on Tuesday by Home Minister, said: "In fact neither the Government nor the party that run it are fighting fundamentalism, terrorism or extremism in the rural areas or in the Gurdwaras or indeed anywhere at all".

The Governor's report, marked "top secret" and datelined Chandigarh, 11 May, 1987, said that all their (Government's) fighting consisted of one or two of the Ministers making some speeches to committed people in the urban area.

"These speeches have hardly any effect and are never followed up by any perceivable action", the Governor's report said, adding that the killings had increased — in fact in the month of April just past it was the "highest ever".

Following is the text of the Governor's report:

"You will be pleased to recall the long discussion that we had on the 25 April last at Delhi when you were kind enough to grant me an interview. I told you then of the gravity and seriousness of the situation existing in the Punjab and the tremendous terror and fear that prevailed everywhere, in some detail. You will recall my telling you then how difficult and impossible the situation was becoming and that I was watching everything carefully and waiting to see what shape things took finally.

"I have, in the last fortnight or so, since seeing you, been witnessing the developments here with great care, caution and circumspection and I have, I am afraid, most unfortunately and regretfully, to report to you now that I am satisfied that that a situation has arisen here in which the Government of the State cannot any longer be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution any your kind intervention under Article 356 is clearly and urgently called for and that every minute's delay in this respect will make the situation more and more worse and dangerous.

"Immediately prior to and at the time of the opening of Parliament and your address to both the Houses (at the commencement of the first session of

Parliament this year) the situation although fairly difficult was under some control and the Chief Minister had taken some bold steps, as you kindly mentioned in your address, against the alleged supremacy of the Akal Takht even in wholly non-religious matters. However, ever since the new fundamentalist movement commenced with its, originally 11 point, and later 13 point programme, the situation began getting out of hand to such an extent that from about the middle of April 1987 there was not only a parallel authority working in the State by the fundamentalists and/or the extremists in the temple and the Gurdwaras as opposed to the Punjab Government secretariat at Chandigarh but terror stalked the land and fear abided in almost every heart with the inevitable result that migration and the consequent communal tension and bitterness commenced again.

"The all party rallies which had promised to be useful and producing a sobering effect lost all their meaning and purpose. Lawlessness, lootings, snatchings, bank robberies, burning of shops, kiosks, khokas, the brutal maiming or murdering of innocents etc. commenced with a renewed vigour making not only many of the fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution illusory but also even the most basic right under it — the right to life — non-existent.

"What made matters worse was the deep involvement of some of the ministers in the present Cabinet and their relations with the terrorists/extremists and the unwarranted attempted interference with police activities particularly at the district and thana levels by them and some of the leading members of the ruling party.

"Added to this was the totally irresponsible public attack made through the medium of the press and otherwise by one of the most senior ministers and no. 2 in the Cabinet against the head of the police — the Director General of Police himself.

"All manner of wild allegations including that of even fostering communalism were falsely made against him thereby not only greatly shaking public

confidence everywhere but also lowering the morale of the police to a near dangerous level.

"Corruption has also become rampant and money is being taken for the passing of a number of orders including orders for transfers, postings and employment of people by some of the ministers and their relations and/or associates as well as by certain chairmen of important government corporations/undertakings.

"As I told you, I had myself gone to every district in the State from the 15th to the 22nd April. Even after that I went once to the districts of Kapurthala and Ludhiana and twice to the districts of Amritsar for specific work but in the course of which I also met people again and made a further study of the situation. Numerous first hand reports also come to me in Chandigarh and I have the advantage too of receiving official reports and carefully assessing scrutinising and analysing them.

"It is quite clear that the ruling party and its Government have no political will to combat truly and seriously either the fundamentalist movement or the growing and unabated terrorism and extremism and have become quite incapable of even assuring effectively, far less safeguarding, the basic fundamental rights guaranteed under our Constitution particularly under articles 14, 16, 19, 21 and the other rights under Articles 300A and 301. Its writ has ceased running in large areas of the State particularly in almost all rural areas.

"The State Government indeed stands today as a mute spectator when tens and thousand of people here cannot even carry on their ordinary avocations of life.

"There is total chaos and anarchy. Nothing is safe whether travelling by public transport for work or pleasure, visiting temples or gurdwaras for worship, attending courts of law for securing justice, attending clinics or visiting patients for rendering medical assistance, joining offices or associations for work, going to cinema shows or places of amusement for entertainment, attending markets or bazars for

commercial or other purposes, working in the fields for agricultural work, or joining colleges or universities for educational purposes and so on — in fact everywhere in every sphere there is threat, intimidation, fear and the present Government stands helpless, quite incapable of doing anything to bring back even semblance of order anywhere.

"All the fight that is being put up for example the killing of Jarnail Singh and another in an encounter this morning at Sangrur in fact is by certain sections of the police under the leadership of the director general of police and not because of any leadership or assistance or encouragement from the Government.

"In fact neither the Government nor the party that run it are fighting fundamentalism, terrorism or extremism in the rural areas or in the gurdwaras or indeed anywhere at all.

"All their fighting consists in one or two of the ministers making some speeches to committed people in the urban areas. These speeches have hardly any effect and are never followed up by any perceivable action. The killings have increased — in fact in the month of April just past it was the highest ever. Even today's papers will show that there have been 12 killings excluding the four terrorists in encounters.

"From all these and from what I have said earlier I have no doubt in my mind that the continuance of the present Government will not only be an exercise in futility but the administration of the State can no longer be run in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

"Finally in case you are pleased to intervene and issue the necessary proclamation under article 356 I would suggest for your consideration that the Legislative Assembly be kept under suspension and not dissolved yet and that the proclamation for your rule be on the same terms and conditions as the proclamation issued for this State earlier on."

/9274
CSO, 4600/1737

LOK SABHA PASSES GOA STATEHOOD BILL

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 May 87 pp 1, 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 11.

THE Lok Sabha ended a long spell of acrimony to welcome unanimously Goa as the 25th state on the penultimate day of its current session.

The Prime Minister, the speaker, members of the government and spokesmen for opposition groups joined in supporting the relevant bills, both legislative and constitutional.

They described as a "historic day when the beautiful piece of territory with its beautiful people joining the mainstream."

All 315 members present in the house voted for the measure.

A point which Prof Madhu Dandavate (J) and others referred to, namely, nomenclature of the high court was clarified by the home minister, Mr Buta Singh.

The bill referred to the extension of jurisdiction of the Maharashtra high court and the members said that it would be better for historic reasons if the name Bombay high court was retained.

The minister said the government took note of the view and would decide after consultations.

Mr Buta Singh assured the house that with Goa attaining statehood, the government would not neglect the development of Daman and Diu.

At the close of the discussion the bill was debated and passed in two and a half hours, the Prime Minister paid tributes to the people of Goa describing them as "very beautiful people living in a beautiful part of the country who have shown rare maturity in over-

coming difficult and complex problems."

Mr C. Madhav Reddy, leader of Telugu Desam group, said statehood to Goa was overdue but certain defects that had cropped up had contributed to the delay.

"We understand that the new state will have one seat in the Rajya Sabha but would the new Union territory of Daman and Diu to be formed have representation in the house of the people?" he asked.

Mr Reddy said these two areas should be merged with the states on the basis of Geographic contiguity. Citing the case of Yanam forming part of Pondicherry though far removed from it, Mr Reddy wondered why the Centre continued with the idea of administering the Union territories.

The member for Andaman and Nicobar islands and for Pondicherry used the occasion for demanding statehood for these Union territories.

Mr Shantaram Naik (Congress) said this was fruition of the tremendous goodwill to the people of Goa shown by members of Parliament.

He was beholden to them for the support since he introduced the private bill for conferring statehood on Goa. But the credit for enabling the people to realise their dream of 25 years should really go to the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, he said. He had shown concern for the Goa people and followed it up with decisive action.

Prof Madhu Dandavate, who had participated in the Goa freedom struggle, praised the communal harmony in Goa and sought greater attention for its economic development.

/9274

CSO: 4600/1736

PAPER INTERVIEWS FAIRFAX CHIEF, REACTION REPORTED

Warren Unna Report

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 8 May 87 p 1

[Text]

WASHINGTON, May 7. — High U.S. Government law enforcement officials collaborated with Indian officials in tracking down corruption between Indian corporations and individuals and U.S. corporations. And, from the U.S. side at least, criminal investigations are under way to see if U.S. laws against American corporate malpractice may have been violated.

This was revealed to The Statesman yesterday by Michael Hershman, president of Fairfax Group, Ltd, the U.S. private investigative consultancy which had been hired last year by India's Finance Ministry to crack down on Indian corruption overseas.

Hershman, during an interview at his Annandale, Virginia, headquarters in the Washington suburbs, also made it plain that if the Indian Government now tries a "cover-up" in a temptation to investigate the investigators, rather than the corruption, he may have the trump card to play.

"I do have information in our files that I might be required to make public unless it becomes clear to me that this (Thakkar) Commission that has been formed by Prime Minister Gandhi is going to do an honest and fair job. I am not going to allow deception and lies to be cast on the Indian people without response. I have a great deal of respect for the Indian public. I have worked in India for years. I regard the average Indian as a very hard-working, dedicated individual—someone who expects integrity in Government. And I think the average Indian is going to see right through this effort by the Indian Government to investigate Fairfax. It is nothing more than an effort to divert from the real problem, corruption. And that definitely is a cover-up. It is obvious we are getting too close for comfort."

Hershman declared in cold, measured tones.

He then added: "I want to send a message to Prime Minister Gandhi and to the people. I know that I am again going to be accused of trying to 'destabilize' the Government and 'interfering in the internal politics' of India. But the fact of the matter is that corruption is prevalent and Gandhi now has an opportunity to confront it. I would urge him to appoint an investigatory commission under V. P. Singh (who was Finance Minister when Fairfax was hired to investigate) to root out the corruption. And we would be happy as an organization to continue to assist in these efforts."

In prior statements, Hershman has indicated that his firm was hired to investigate a number of corruption situations involving Indian corporations, not just the Reliance Group whose name continues to be singled out in India. Yesterday was the first time he mentioned that his investigation, at the behest of the Indian Finance Ministry, also included individuals. And yesterday also was the first time that mention has been made of a Government-to-Government collaboration between the USA and India. Hershman explained that his group acted as a "liaison" between Indian and U.S. law enforcement officials ("not intelligence people, law enforcement officials", he emphasized). And, in this capacity, he arranged a series of intra-governmental gatherings both in the nation's capital and in New York, meetings which included the now-reassigned Indian Finance Ministry enforcement chief, Bhure Lal.

Fairfax's president also said that these meetings have been documented in writing. "Let us

get past the non-issue of why Fairfax was hired and address the issue that exists", he urged.

And even on the supposition of Fairfax itself being investigated, Hershman said yesterday, he found it particularly curious that not a single Indian official had approached him since all the hue and cry about Fairfax had erupted in public. He also repeated his annoyance that the Indian Government showed no interest in looking into a document on supposed Fairfax stationery, presuming to link Fairfax with controversial names in a controversial scheme and seemingly signed by a Fairfax "vice-president, Gordon A. McKay. Fairfax's president made it plain that such a letter never was issued by his firm and could be only a forgery. Yet, somehow, Indian investigators show no concern in the flurry of their investigation.

"Why is this not an issue, and for what purpose?" he asked.

Hershman is proud of a framed U.S. Senate resolution hanging on his wall praising him for his work as the senior staff investigator during the Watergate investigation which paved the way for President Nixon's resignation. It is signed by both the late Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina, the Watergate committee chairman, and then Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee, the committee's ranking Republican Party minority member. Senator Baker, having retired from Congress, now is back in Washington—as the all-powerful Chief of Staff in President Ronald Reagan's White House.

"I've been in this business for over 20 years and my entire career has been dedicated to corruption-type investigations. We couldn't have survived in this business without building a reputation for integrity", he declared.

Opposition Walkout

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 8 May 87 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 7.—Most of the Opposition members walked out of the Rajya Sabha this morning in protest against not being allowed to discuss the reported decision of the Cabinet not to give the President any further information on the Bofors deal and other matters.

For about 10 minutes there were angry scenes with Opposition leaders—Mr Dipen Ghosh (CPI-M), Mr P. Upendra (T.D.) and Mr M. S. Gurupadaswamy (J)—insisting that Parliament had the right to discuss the matter. The Chairman, Mr Venkataraman, firmly refused to permit any discussion.

Congress (I) members joined issue with the Opposition and charges and counter-charges were traded. After about 10 minutes, Mr Venkataraman said that when some members met him in his room earlier in the day he had explained the reasons why he could not permit any such discussion.

The Opposition members then left the House. AIADMK and National Conference members, however, did not join the walk-out.

Mr Venkataraman then ruled that "none of these proceedings have been recorded and will not be reported in the Press".

In a statement today, leaders of 11 opposition parties and groups in the Rajya Sabha said it was politically unwise to deny the President his constitutional right to know what is going on in the Government and to seek information on all vital matters pertaining to

the administration of the country.

The signatories to the statement are: Mr Dipen Ghosh (CPI-M), Mr M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Janata), Mr P. Upendra (TDP), Mr L. K. Advani (BJP), Mr N. E. Bolarum (CPI), Mr Chitta Basu (F.B.), Mr Veerendra Verma and Mr S. P. Malaviya (Lok Dal), Mr Murosali Maran (DMK), Mr J. S. Aurora (Akali Dal) and Mr Nagen Sankia (AGP).

They said: "The supply of information by the Government to the President, under Article 78 cannot and should not be confused with the advice of the Government, as provided in Article 74 of the Constitution as, in our view, 'advice and information' are quite distinct. If the scope for seeking information by the President had to be governed by the discretion of the Government, a separate Article 78 would not have been incorporated in the Constitution. Further, seeking clarification or obtaining reports on any matter by the President will, in no way, restrict the 'advice and consent' of the Government, as mentioned in Article 74 of the Constitution. In fact, Articles 74 and 78 are not at all mutually restrictive or contradictory".

"SUSPICIONS DEEPEN"

Quoting the Swedish radio report that there were "massive kick-backs" in the Bofors guns deal, in which some "top Congress (I) men and key Defence personnel are allegedly involved", the leaders said the full truth about this "vital

issue" had not yet been told to both the people and Parliament.

In such circumstances, the Government's refusal to supply the information asked for by the President "only deepens the suspicions of the people in this respect. There cannot obviously be any secrecy to be kept from the Head of the State", they said.

The situation, which has many "ramifications", should be discussed by Parliament. "It is the only forum which can discuss such a vital matter involving grave constitutional and political implications".

Mr Satya Prakash Malaviya, Lok Dal general secretary, said in a statement that the reported stand of the Union Government that the President is not entitled to any more information on State matters than the Government thinks it fit to disclose to him "is a fraud" on the interpretation of the Constitution and untenable.

"Article 78(B) confers a right on the President to call for such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union... In exercising his right under Article 78(B) the President is not expected to act on the advice of the Council of Ministers. In case the Council of Ministers or the Union Government refuses to furnish such information as sought by the President, this would be a gross violation of the Constitutional provisions and also breach of the oath taken by every Minister at the time of occupying office...", he said.

Analyst's Comment

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 9 May 87 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 8

THE latest interview given by Mr Michael Hershman, president of the Fairfax group, the private American investigative agency, to the Washington correspondent of *The Statesman* is manifestly designed to sow confusion just as the two-member commission set up by the government to inquire into the Fairfax affair is about to begin its work.

Apart from the fact that an Ameri-

can national has thought it fit to question the commission's credentials to do an "honest and fair job", a number of questions can be raised about two new statements he made in the course of this interview.

For the first time, according to the Washington correspondent of the paper, Mr Hershman mentioned that his investigation, carried out at the behest of the finance ministry, covered not just Indian corporations but also individuals involved in "corruption situations".

Similarly, for the first time the president of Fairfax revealed that high U.S. government law enforcement officials collaborated with the Indian officials in investigating corruption cases in which Indian corporations and individuals and American corporations and individuals were implicated.

Mr Hershman has also been quoted as saying that he arranged a "series of intra-governmental gatherings both in the nation's capital (Washington) and in New York meetings which included the now-reassigned Indian finance ministry enforcement chief, Mr Bhure Lal" and that these meetings had been documented in writing.

But according to official sources, Mr Bhure Lal has admitted that he has met only one American law enforcement official and that too on a single occasion during his only visit to the United States in late December last year. The official is believed to be Mr Joseph D. Bruno, an official of the U.S.

internal revenue service (IRS).

In the course of that meeting the American official and Mr Bhure Lal are believed to have discussed four cases — one involving three U.S.-based Indians who took dollars in America and arranged to give rupees to the concerned parties in India; a second involving another Indian who had made investments in tax-haven countries; a third in which a Delhi-based sales and investment firm is said to be implicated in foreign exchange violations and the fourth related to secret commissions allegedly paid by an American firm for the export of edible oil to India. The IRS apparently got into the act to find out whether the U.S. based parties had violated American tax laws.

On his return to India in early January, Mr Bhure Lal is reported to have written two letters to Mr Bruno, thanking him for his assistance in these matters.

These are the only contacts that Mr Bhure Lal is believed to have had with an official of the U.S. government. His other contacts included a meeting with an official of the Dupont Corporation and a telephonic conversation with a

legal counsel of the Chemtex firm.

The conclusion suggests itself: either Mr Bhure Lal has concealed information from the government or else Mr Hershman is lying when he speaks of a "series of intra-governmental gatherings" between U.S. law enforcement officials and the former official of India's enforcement directorate.

Whether Mr Hershman will appear before the two-man inquiry commission to set the record straight is now a moot point. He has chastised the government for its decision to investigate Fairfax.

Mr Hershman has gone on to urge the Prime Minister "to appoint an investigatory commission under Mr V.P. Singh to root out the corruption"

Perhaps the U.S. government will be able to shed some light on the frequency and nature of the contacts between the IRS official and Mr Bhure Lal. In response to a query on this subject, a spokesman of the USIS in Delhi today merely declared that he would neither confirm nor deny the statements made by Mr Hershman regarding the involvement of the U.S. government in this affair.

Interview Raises Questions

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 9 May 87 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

The controversy regarding Fairfax, the U.S. agency the enforcement directorate of the finance ministry engaged last year when Mr V. P. Singh was finance minister, has taken a dramatic turn with the latest interview by its chairman, Mr Hershman, to *The Statesman*. The interview raises even graver issues than those which have led to the appointment of a two-member commission of inquiry. It may be a mere coincidence that the interview has come amidst a new escalation in the clash between President Zail Singh and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. But it is an interesting coincidence. For the interview must strengthen the position of the hawks among the Giani's advisers who argue not only that he has the power under the Constitution to dismiss the Prime Minister, but also that he should use this power if there is the slightest evidence to connect Mr Rajiv Gandhi with any alleged payoff in any way. Mr Hershman has all but threatened to produce just such evidence.

Mr Hershman is angry that a commission should have been appointed to investigate the arrangement which the former chief of the enforcement directorate, Mr Bhure Lal, had made with Fairfax. But the commission was appointed on April 6 and, except for Mr V. P. Singh's resignation on April 12, nothing has happened since in the Fairfax affair itself to add to Mr Hershman's fury. So why should he now call the inquiry a "cover-up" and threaten to make public "information in our files" if he is not convinced that the

commission "Is going to do an honest and fair job"? The answer is obvious. Mr Hershman is intervening in the current upheaval in India against Mr Gandhi and therefore on the side of his detractors and he is trying to blackmail the Prime Minister. For he has said that his agency was asked to investigate not only some Indian companies but also individuals. He has, of course, not said that the individuals are close to Mr Gandhi. But the implication seems obvious.

Mr Hershman is very concerned that Mr Rajiv Gandhi confront the issue of corruption. To that end, he has proposed that Mr Gandhi appoint a commission headed, of course, by Mr V. P. Singh and he has volunteered to "continue to assist in these efforts." But these homilies deserve less attention than the critical new fact he has disclosed. He has been quoted as having said that "high U.S. government law enforcement officials collaborated with Indian officials in tracking down corruption between Indian corporations and individuals and U.S. corporations", and that "he arranged a series of inter-governmental gatherings both in the nation's capital and in New York." This raises several questions which Mr V. P. Singh must answer. Did he sanction this government-to-government liaison? Did he think that as finance minister he was entitled to do so without any reference to the Prime Minister, even though it involved another government? Was he aware of the meetings? Was he posted with the minutes of the meetings? Do the minutes exist in India as, according to Mr Hershman, they do in the U.S.? Did the U.S. officials keep the Indian embassy informed of all this? The nation would need to await answers to these questions before it draws any inference on this latest disclosure by "our man" in Virginia. But clearly there is more to the Fairfax affair than we have been aware of so far. One day it should be possible to put the pieces of the jigsaw puzzle together. But that day is not yet. So far, we are not in a position even to ask all the relevant questions.

Hershman Said To Cross Limits

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 9 May 87 p 1

[Article by Arindam Sen Gupta]

[Text]

Mr Michael Hershman's game is difficult to understand. The Fairfax boss had begun by throwing dark hints of corruption in high places in India, of course, without any concrete evidence to buttress his allusions. Now in an interview with a daily, he has threatened the Indian Government with embarrassing disclosures and has cast serious aspersions on the Supreme Court-judges who are investigating into the entire Fairfax episode by describing their enquiry as a cover-up operation.

Not only that, his tone is disgustingly patronising. He wants to

"send a message to Mr Gandhi and to the people", the crux of which is that the Indian Government now has a golden opportunity to root out corruption and it should do so by appointing an "investigatory commission" under Mr V P Singh. In other words, he feels that a V P Singh commission of enquiry would be more effective than a judicial commission of enquiry as the latter would be "nothing more than an effort to divert from the real problem — corruption".

The advice is unsolicited and gratuitous. It also betrays ignorance of the Indian political system in which

enquiries are held by impartial judges and not by politicians who might have an axe to grind. Mr V P Singh is, after all, an interested party in this case and the judges are likely to also examine his role in appointing the American detective agency. Is it that Mr Hershman wants to protect Mr Singh and therefore wants to change the terms of reference of the enquiry by appointing Mr V P Singh at its head?

If that is the case, he is doing more harm than good to Mr V P Singh through his periodic outbursts in favour of the former minister. Already Mr Singh is under a cloud and Mr Hershman's statements have added to his woes. Congress general secretary Najma Heptullah, while reacting to the statement and describing it as "blatant and insulting" to the Indian people and the country's judiciary, has wondered if there was "an unholy" alliance between the American and Mr Singh.

It is also possible that Mr Hershman is being deliberately mischievous — by letting out intermittently that he has dark secrets to disclose without really doing so, he wishes to create an atmosphere of suspicion and wants people to pre-judge the outcome of a judicial enquiry as he has done. It would be far better if he abandoned his cloak-and-dagger game — which perhaps comes naturally to the professional private eye — and come out with his disclosures, if he has any.

Otherwise, it cannot but be con-

cluded that there is a method in his seemingly irrational behaviour. For, if any proof was required to suggest foreign intervention in Indian affairs, it is being provided by Mr Hershman's open threats to the Indian Government. Periodically he has been coming out with his dark insinuations and threats which appear to have been timed almost to perfection — that is whenever the country moves ahead of the Fairfax business and gets down to grappling with more substantive issues.

It is not that the Fairfax affair has been brushed under the carpet. For one, two eminent Supreme Court judges are investigating into it. There is, moreover, indication that the Government is seriously contemplating a widening of the enquiry commission's terms of reference for it to go into the question of Indian funds illegally stashed away in foreign banks. Apart from a Congress leader saying so, the Prime Minister himself assured on Thursday on the floor of Parliament that the Government was exploring ways of unearthing this illegal money.

So it is entirely possible that we have not heard the last from the Government on the enquiry commission. But the question is, have we heard the last from Mr Hershman? If the past is any indication, we have not. And his pontifications and moralising is just about crossing the limits of tolerance of all self-respecting Indians. So it is time to tell him either to shut up or tell us all he has to tell.

/9274

CSO: 4600/1728

PAPERS REPORT POSITION, PRONOUNCEMENTS OF ZAIL SINGH

Remarks at Award Ceremony

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 3 May 87 p 1

[Text]

BOMBAY, May 2. — President Zail Singh today declared that there was no force, external or internal, which could destabilize India. India was invincible and no power on earth could destroy it.

Some people are trying to create doubts in the minds of the people that there was a tendency to harm the democratic set-up in the country, the President pointed out. "I would like these doubts to be put to rest once and for all", he declared here while addressing a function to present an award to Mr Morarji Desai, the former Prime Minister.

"I call it 'my' Government. How can I allow 'my' Government to weaken in any way?" the President asked. He affirmed that he would never allow the democratic institutions of the country to be weakened by any forces whatsoever.

The President pointed out that he had taken the oath to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the country. "I have always fulfilled my responsibility in this respect earnestly and

fearlessly", he remarked.

Mr Zail Singh spoke extempore putting aside his written speech for some time. He did not mention any names but did refer to the present atmosphere of confusion and the talk of destabilizing the country. Certain remarks, however, had oblique references to the controversy between the President and the Prime Minister.

Many people changed with the tunes, Mr Zail Singh lamented. These people did not stand by their words, they said one thing and did another. They should have the courage of conscience and be able to stand by principles, he added. One should always have faith in truth and pursue the path of truth without any hesitation, he added.

Again without mentioning any names, Mr Zail Singh said there were certain people who come to you when they are seeking something and when they get what they were seeking, they turn about and twist your words.

Mr Zail Singh called upon the executive, the legislature, the judiciary and the Press to be alert,

non-partisan, just and farsighted. There were certain misguided persons who were trying to damage the unity of the country. But even if the country was put to some discomfort because of this, India was strong enough to face any such challenges.

The occasion was the presentation of an award of Rs 1 lakh to Mr Desai on behalf of the Jain Mahamandal to mark 50 years of the acharyaship of Acharya Tulsi.

Mr Desai reasserted his faith in the philosophy of non-violence and spoke of his conviction that the world one day would fully accept the philosophy of non-violence.

UNI adds: Mr Zail Singh left here this evening for Delhi by a special plane after a day's visit to the city.

The President was given a send-off at the airport by the Maharashtra Governor, Mr S. D. Sharma, the Chief Minister, Mr S. B. Chavan, his Cabinet colleagues and senior civil and military officials.

Press Release Reported

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 4 May 87 pp 1, 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI.

PRESIDENT Zail Singh has finally felt called upon to deny reports that he intends to dismiss the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

This should help to end partly

the most dangerous controversy on the powers of the President which India has witnessed since the Constitution came into force on January 26, 1950.

The controversy began with the publication of the President's letter to the Prime Minister on March 14 questioning the latter's claim that he and his

ministers had kept the President informed on developments of national importance.

President Zail Singh's contradiction of reports came in the form of a brief press note from Rashtrapati Bhavan on Sunday evening.

The press release said: "The President has noted with distress the reports and comments which have appeared in the press persistently speculating that he intends to dismiss Mr Rajiv Gandhi from the office of Prime Minister.

"The President has so far refrained from commenting on these reports as also on the conjectures concerning what transpired in his recent meetings with the Prime Minister.

"The President feels that reports and comments concerning so grave a matter as the dismissal of the Prime Minister cannot be allowed to remain uncontradicted any longer.

"The President therefore wishes it to be known in the clearest terms that the said reports and comments are utterly devoid of any basis."

The press release has not come as a complete surprise. The first indication that President Zail Singh was planning such a disclaimer came in a speech which he made at a function organised by the Acharya Shri Tulsi Amrut Mahotsav Rashtriya Samiti to honour Mr Morarji Desai in Bombay on Saturday. He was quoted as having said then that he could not possibly be a party to the weakening of "his government" and that no power, internal or external, could destabilise India.

While the press release from Rashtrapati Bhavan cannot but be most welcome, it is necessary to recall that two (and not one) controversies regarding the President have dominated the country for the last six weeks. The press release has dealt with only one of the two aspects of one of the two controversies. Indeed, the press release has not dealt with the central issues in this regard.

For almost all reports in circulation have been agreed on the point that the

President has convinced himself on the strength of consultations with some lawyers or otherwise that he is entitled under the Constitution to dismiss the Prime Minister. The press release has not said either that he has not consulted some lawyers, or that they have not told him that he has the inherent power to dismiss the Prime Minister or that he has not been so persuaded.

The reports in question have differed on the point to which the press note has addressed himself. Indeed, most reports have quoted sources close to the President as saying that he does not intend — at least not yet — to exercise his reserve powers to dismiss the Prime Minister.

It is no secret that the Prime Minister's aides, if not Mr Rajiv Gandhi, have been apprehensive that Giani Zail Singh might provoke a grave political-constitutional crisis. Mr Kamalapati Tripathi's statement early last week gave expressions to these fears.

In plain terms, there have been apprehensions that Giani Zail Singh was busy reinterpreting the constitution in a manner that would make nonsense of the parliamentary system of government and pave the way for a presidential coup. The co-ordination committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Communist Party of India, took note of these fears last Thursday and issued a statement virtually warning the President that he must abandon such moves. The Janata Party followed suit on Friday dissociating itself from any possible move on the part of the President to dismiss the Prime Minister.

The other controversy is related to the interpretations of article 74, 78 and 86 of the Constitution. The discussions between the President and the Prime Minister in recent weeks to which the Rashtrapati Bhavan press release refers is related to this question. And there cannot be much doubt that no agreement has been reached on it, that Giani Zail Singh has tended to interpret Article 78 and 86 literally without any

reference to the entire scheme of the Constitution which vests all executive powers in the Prime Minister and his council of ministers, and that Mr Rajiv Gandhi has opposed this interpretation holding that Article 74 left the President no choice but to abide by the advice of the council of ministers.

As if this disagreement was not a serious enough cause for concern in the country, President Zail Singh last Thursday wrote a letter to the Prime Minister demanding details of the Bofors guns deal, though the defence minister had already briefed him in the matter earlier. The Prime Minister's aides, read this letter as an indication that the President was in fact placing his own strange interpretation of the constitution.

The contents of this letter, like other similar exchanges between the President and the Prime Minister, got leaked. And on its publication last Friday, Rashtrapati Bhavan inspired a report which was breath-taking in its implication.

It quoted "sources close to Rashtrapati Bhavan" as saying that "even if the defence minister had briefed the President on any defence matter, the latter as the supreme commander of the armed forces, could certainly ask for more details." This was the first time that presidential assistants had put forward such a formulation. And that is not the central point which this reference raises.

Hopefully President Zail Singh has decided to put an end to all these dangerous controversies as a result of which the nation had come perilously close to a breakdown of the system with consequences which have been too dire to spell out. Rashtrapati Bhavan press release point in that direction even if it is not comprehensive enough to dispose of the constitutional issues that have risen in recent weeks.

Not Answerable to Court

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 13 May 87 p 4

[Text]

New Delhi, May 12 (UNI): The December 1986 proposals formulated jointly by the governments of India and Sri Lanka offer the "best hope" for a peaceful settlement of the island's ethnic crisis, the minister of state for external affairs, Mr Natwar Singh, told the Lok Sabha today.

"If the government of Sri

Lanka has any other proposals to offer, we are prepared to look at them," he said while replying to a special discussion on the Sri Lankan problem.

Stating briefly the background of how the December proposals had failed to get off the ground, Mr Natwar Singh said what made it difficult for

India to use its good offices was the way the Sri Lankan authorities were "blowing hot and cold." He asked, "How can you conduct serious business if they go back on their words."

Reiterating that India was against the dismemberment of Sri Lanka and formation of a separate Tamil "Eelam," Mr Natwar Singh said this country, however, could not remain silent on the atrocities being committed on the Tamil minority, including innocent women and children by the government forces themselves.

Sharing the concern and anxiety expressed by the members, the minister hoped that the Sri Lankan government would do nothing to worsen the security environment in the region, which was already vitiated by the involvement of foreign elements in the ethnic conflict.

No military intervention

He hoped that the island government "in its own interest" would

not take a short-term view but would work on a long-term perspective.

He ruled out military intervention by India to secure the life and property of Tamils, as demanded by some members, saying it would have "very serious repercussions." He also ruled out taking the issue to the international fora like the United Nations and said such a step would only complicate the issue further, if past experience was any guide.

Mr Natwar Singh was replying to a special discussion on escalation of violence in Sri Lanka, during which some members suggested that the United Nations and the non-aligned movement be involved.

He reiterated that the government firmly stood for a negotiated settlement of the ethnic problem which would ensure peace and unity on the island.

Responding to a clarification sought by Mr P. Kolandaivelu

(AIDMK) as to what were the proposals the Prime Minister had referred to at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting yesterday, the minister said the December 19, 1986 formula was still the best hope for a negotiated settlement.

Mr Natwar Singh said he had discussed the matter with Mr Rajiv Gandhi during the lunch-break at the end of which he resumed his reply. He described, as "reprehensible and unfortunate" the remarks reportedly made by the former foreign secretary, Mr A.P. Venkateswaran recently that the government response to the problem would have been different if what was happening to Tamils happened to North Indians.

The government turned down the members' demand that it withdraw its good offices to Sri Lanka. "Our own view is that India's good offices are essential in finding a peaceful solution."

Reply to BJP

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 10 May 87 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 9.

"I WISH I had the information to refute what you say and thus defend my government", said the President, Mr Zail Singh, to a body of BJP legislators today.

They had met him to present a memorandum urging that he tender the "sage counsel" to the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, to relinquish office on grounds that he had forfeited the mandate of the people in the wake of the recent allegations of corruption.

If he did not lay down office, the BJP urged the president to advise the Prime Minister to seek a fresh mandate.

"The core issue in the present situation is corruption, not conspiracy", the memorandum noted.

In the absence of information with which to defend "my government", the President, expressing helplessness, could only say, "As it is, I can only

accept the memorandum" Mr L. K. Advani, the BJP president, told newsmen afterwards.

Ten BJP MPs, 156 state legislators from 14 states and 11 central office bearers of the party called on the President this morning to present their memorandum with which concludes the party's weeklong "Rajiv must resign" campaign.

Both decisions had been taken at the party's national executive meeting at Rohtak late last month.

Mr Zail Singh, according to BJP leaders, met their delegation with his customary bonhomie toward guests, drawing them in an embrace. Nor did he omit to recite couplets for which he is so well known.

The one chosen for the occasion was "hai hai yeh mazboorian, paas reh ke bhi hain kitni dooriyaan". (These ironies of life, that such distances should come between us when we are so close).

The Fairfax affair, the German submarine deal and the Swedish guns contract have "completely besmirched the image of Mr Clean with which Shri

Rajiv Gandhi commenced his prime ministerial tenure two-and-half years back", began the six-page long BJP memorandum. The opening and concluding parts were read aloud by Mr Advani.

Describing the government's response to the present crisis as "shocking", the memorandum mocked the government for attributing the uproar in the country to a conspiracy hatched by foreign powers to destabilise the government.

"In this conspiracy, according to them, not only opposition parties, the Indian press and the former finance and defence minister, Shri V. P. Singh, but you too, Mr President, are supposed to be co-conspirators!" the memorandum noted.

It demanded that the present Fairfax inquiry be scrapped alleging that it was being held "in camera" and be substituted by a public inquiry into foreign bank accounts and foreign holdings of Indians.

It also asked that the government move toward signing a treaty with Switzerland obliging both countries to

share information about bank accounts built through crime.

The BJP recommended a standing commission comprising distinguished individuals to be set up "to overview defence spending and defence deals", and reiterated its demand for a parliamentary inquiry into the submarine and the Swedish puns deals.

The memorandum said all ministers and legislators, both at the Centre and in the states, must be asked to declare if they or their close relations had holdings abroad.

The Prime Minister could not escape

"direct responsibility" in the Bofors contract, the memorandum contended, as he held the defence portfolio in the period in which the Swedish radio has alleged the bribes were paid.

The Prime Minister's refusal to share information about the Bofors deal "even with the President" only strengthened the suspicion that the government had much to hide, the BJP said.

Briefing newsmen after submitting the memorandum, Mr Advani said while the crucial issue in the public debate on the President-Prime Minis-

ter relations was the President's right of information being governed by Article 78 of the Constitution, the government had deliberately tried to raise a debate of the President's right of dismissal of the government, when, in fact, no political party or leader had suggested this.

The first public statement in this regard had come from Mr Kamalapati Tripathi, the Congress leader, Mr Advani added.

He argued that President's right to information under Article 78 was "unfettered".

Commentator's Article

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 May 87 p 1

[Article by R. K. Mishra]

[Text]

In a parliamentary democracy, such as ours, sovereignty resides in the people who exercise it through members of Parliament elected by them. A person enjoying the support of the majority of the members of Lok Sabha, elected directly on the basis of adult suffrage, has the right to serve as the Prime Minister of the country. The President, as the Head of the State, is required under the Constitution to act in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister and his Council of Ministers.

The relationship between the President and the Prime Minister is determined by the relevant articles of the Constitution. But all statutory provisions involving interaction between two offices or two individuals are influenced by the personal relationship of those who hold these offices and not by waging a battle over comas and full stops. The relationship between the President and the Prime Minister cannot but be influenced by the status of the incumbents of these offices, their political background and the esteem in which they hold each other. When the office of the President is occupied by someone like Dr Rajendra Prasad, a veteran leader of the freedom movement, even a giant like Jawaharlal Nehru would go a great deal beyond the letter of the Articles of the Constitution and not only "inform" him but also seek his advice and guidance. When the two would differ, as they did, the solution would be found by mutual accommodation.

Whatever their relationship or whatever the feelings of the incumbent of the high office, the President cannot allow himself to act against the letter or spirit of the Constitution. However plipped the President may be at the alleged lack of courtesy shown to him by the Prime Minister, he cannot misinterpret the provisions pertaining to his powers without being guilty of doing grave violence to the letter and spirit of the Constitution. Article 78 is not a statute spelling out the duties of an auditor or a chartered accountant, who has the right to go through every single transaction before issuing a certificate. The Prime Minister as head of the Government has the obligation to keep the President informed of the broad outlines of Government policies. It would be ridiculous to expand the constitutional provisions to claim that the President has the right to know every noting on a file or every step in the decision-making processes of the Government. This would be vesting the President with executive functions which are totally contrary to the letter of the Constitution and the intentions of the authors of our basic laws.

We always hoped that Giani Zail Singh would, under no provocation or temptation, do anything to undermine the constitutional fabric of Indian polity. Unfortunately, notwithstanding the statement issued by Rashtrapati Bhawan denying that the President had any intention of dismissing the

Government headed by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, some political elements continue not only to claim that the President has such a right, but also assert that the President has not given up these intentions. It is difficult to assess if these elements really speak on behalf of the President or they are merely agent provocateurs trying to push the President to violate the Constitution and throw the country into a grave political crisis. Notwithstanding the reliability of the intentions they attribute to the President, the Indian people cannot lower their guard against attempts to destabilise the political system and subvert their mandate, by distorting the provisions of the Constitution.

This newspaper was the first to expose the imperialistic designs to balkanise India and destabilise our political system. Imperialism has never viewed kindly the emergence of strong and independent nation states. From the very outset it has tried to "tame" India by putting pressures, military, economic, or political. For imperialism India's desire to assert her independence — the essence of non-alignment — is totally unacceptable. Exploitation of political factionalism and individual ambitions or short-sightedness are the most convenient tools of destabilisation. Developing societies suffer from ethnic conflicts or other weaknesses — largely a consequence of economic backwardness bequeathed by long spells of colonial rule — and are

trying to consolidate their polity. They have to struggle to overcome these weaknesses as a part of the struggle to consolidate the nation state. Imperialism has, however, perfected the mechanism of exploiting these weaknesses and managing the minds of individuals holding critical positions in such a manner as to subserve their goals. If democracy has collapsed in other developing countries of Asia and Africa and not so in India, it is largely due to a temper of tolerance, the politics of consensus and the tradition of not allowing differences to degenerate into irrepressible bitterness and hatred. Over the years, these traits of political morality, bequeathed to us by the freedom movement, have declined. Individual ambitions have become less controllable and frustration more overpowering. The destabilisation design is being implemented in India against this background.

There is need for a countrywide campaign against the threat to the nation's unity and mobilisation of the people to defeat the designs of destabilisation. The Left parties have

very clearly denounced all attempts to organize a "constitutional coup". In fact, except some opportunists, all others have unambiguously pledged themselves against any move by the President to dislodge a constitutionally elected Government. A grievance against the Prime Minister that he did not show sufficient courtesy to the President cannot be allowed to be a pretext for inventing phoney alibis for violating the Constitution. To criticise the Prime Minister or the Government's acts of omission and commission and/or to fight suspected corruption is a legitimate right of political parties. But all these under no circumstances can persuade any responsible Indian to acquiesce in or condone suggestions that the President should go ahead and dismiss the Government which has the requisite constitutional majority. The Indian people would not permit any such attempt to succeed and if necessary fight for the nation's unity and defeat all attempts to bring about destabilisation by throwing the country into a serious political and constitutional crisis.

/9274

CSO. 4600/1725

EDITORIALS COMMENT ON PRIME MINISTER-PRESIDENT DISPUTE

Singh Statement Tactical Retreat

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 5 May 87 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

President Zail Singh has expressed distress over reports that he has been intending to dismiss Mr Rajiv Gandhi from the office of Prime Minister. This should help ease the tension between the head of state and the head of government which could have led to a political-constitutional crisis of awesome proportions. But the press release from Rashtrapati Bhavan does not even touch the central issue. Which is whether or not a President has the inherent right (or reserve power) under the Constitution to dismiss a Prime Minister. We may deplore that this question should have arisen at all and we may blame either the Giant or Mr Gandhi for it. But the question has arisen and it will not go away by itself. Indeed, it is open to doubt whether the issue has lost even its immediate relevance and urgency. The President may have made only a tactical retreat possibly because three major opposition parties — the CPM, the CPI and the Janata — have publicly opposed a possible move by him to dismiss Mr Gandhi. As such, he could resume the offensive if circumstances turn in his favour, that is against the Prime Minister. And that is not a possibility which can be dismissed out of hand. The inquiry into the Bofors gun deal can lead to disclosures which can embarrass Mr Gandhi and he can lose the forthcoming elections in Haryana. So it remains necessary to make a reference to the constitutional bench of the Supreme Court. A clear judgment by it alone can settle the issue, if anything at all can. President Zail Singh should also be willing to go along with this proposal if in fact he is not planning to plunge the country into a grave crisis.

The delicate balance between the President and the Prime Minister has been badly upset. Zail Singh and Mr Rajiv Gandhi just could not develop the necessary rapport for whatever reasons. This became obvious as early as April 1985 when Mr K. K. Tewari made serious charges against Rashtrapati Bhavan without inviting a rebuke from Mr Gandhi. Reports that the President had the power to dismiss the Prime Minister and that he intended to use it began to circulate in the summer of 1986 and not in the weeks following the publication of the Giant's letter to Mr Gandhi on March 14. The aggravation of the tension

between them has led to a hardening of positions. If the President's aides have privately expounded the proposition that he can dismiss Mr Gandhi, the minister of state for home affairs, Mr P. Chidambaram, has said in the Lok Sabha that the Prime Minister is entitled under the Constitution to advise the President on whether or not the latter can seek certain information and that Article 78 does not entitle the President to seek and get whatever information he wants from the government. It is common knowledge that the Giani has not accepted this interpretation of the Constitution and that he has said so in a communication to Mr Gandhi. Inevitably, these differences must extend to Article 86 which relates to the President's right to send a message to Parliament and to require it to consider it expeditiously. These issues will also not disappear even after the Giani leaves Rashtrapati Bhavan and even if reasonably cordial and cooperative relations develop between the next President and Mr Gandhi. Logically, these too should figure in a reference to the Supreme Court.

It is most unfortunate that things should have been allowed to come to such a pass. Clearly, both the head of state and the head of government owed it to themselves and the Indian people to avoid such a situation. They have not lived up to this responsibility. The deeper tragedy is that while the Supreme Court can give a finding on the points in dispute, that verdict cannot help restore the delicate balance that has existed in the past between the incumbents of the two highest offices in the land to the advantage of the nation. Unlike in the case of the President's supposed powers to dismiss the Prime Minister, the Supreme Court's judgment on the President's rights under Article 78 and 86 is by general reckoning not a foregone conclusion. But whichever way the court rules, there is bound to be trouble. If, for example, the Supreme Court holds that the President is bound by the advice of the Prime Minister on matters covered by Article 78 and 86 as well, his office will have been divested of the dignity it is supposed to possess. If, on the other hand, the court holds that the President is entitled to seek from the government whatever information he wants and to send messages to Parliament whenever he is in disagreement with the government, it will have potentially undermined the office of Prime Minister. This should establish beyond doubt that the country's affairs cannot be managed on the basis of legalism: these call for understanding and respect for one another among those who occupy high offices. They can ignore conventions, as in this case Mr Gandhi has done for two years, or seek to redeem hurt pride, as the Giani has done in the past two months, only at the cost of the nation. Hopefully, it should be possible to restore the *status quo ante* after the next presidential poll. But the seeds of trouble between any future President and Prime Minister have been sown.

President's Credibility Damaged

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 4 May 87 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

Better late, of course, than never: it is good to hear the President say that there is no scope for misinterpretation of the Constitution. However, we do hope he means by this

that it is not within his powers to arbitrarily dismiss the elected government of the country, and not anything else. It is necessary to add this caveat in view of the many interpretations that are currently being circulated regarding the President's powers. It is not a secret that some experts have told the President what he wants to hear, that he has the right to appoint or dismiss the government at his will. And certainly some of the President's closest advisers have been saying without any hesitation or embarrassment that the President is weighing the option seriously. It is obvious enough that what was holding the President back was not any interpretation of the Constitution but his interpretation of the political mood of the country. If he thought he could have got away with it, the President would have dismissed the Prime Minister. What was missing from the scenario was not the will, but the rationale. The plan was clearly to use corruption as the excuse; but despite all the waiting that we all have done for the Swedish media to give us their much-trumpeted evidence against the Prime Minister over the Bofors deal, nothing has been forthcoming. (Instead magazines as powerful as *Der Spiegel* have tendered an apology to at least one party alleged to be middlemen, the Hinduja brothers.)

It says an enormous amount for the strength of our system that most Opposition parties have warned the President against any such coup from the top. They have reminded him of something very straightforward (which some of his legal experts might tend to forget)—that this is a parliamentary democracy and not a presidential one, and that the proper forum to determine the life of a government is Parliament, not the corridors of Rashtrapati Bhavan. If the President has been provided with a proviso, it is only to meet the contingencies of an extraordinary situation, and not experiment with theory towards the end of a term. But the President seems to have been chastened by the near-unanimous opinion of the Opposition parties, from the CPI(M) to the BJP (the Telugu Desam remains an exception) that he would be wise to leave the Rajiv Gandhi government alone.

What is unfortunate is that this crisis has taken a severe toll of the President's credibility, which is an unhappy thing to say about our head of state. We expect a person who receives the honour of living in Rashtrapati Bhavan to uphold the dignity and decorum of the office, and not to give reason to every important political party in the country to chasten him. But the President has no one to blame but himself. Even a month ago, the country tended to believe him rather than the Prime Minister in the controversies between the two. But now that the dimensions of the effort to unseat the government are becoming commonly known, the people are beginning to suspect the President himself of playing games. The suspicion itself should never have arisen; but it has. In the process Giani Zail Singh has also destroyed what little chance he had of becoming a consensus or an Opposition candidate in the next presidential elections. The controversy between the President and the Prime Minister has already extracted a heavy price from the nation; we are only thankful that the price has not been higher. In the last few weeks of his term, Giani Zail Singh should try and ensure that there is no further reason for any suspicion of his intentions; that will be the only proper way to serve the nation which gave him this honour.

President's Role Under Constitution

Madras THE HINDU in English 9 May 87 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

DESPITE A CERTAIN clearing up of the atmosphere after the Rashtrapathi Bhavan issued a statement to the effect that the President, Mr. Zail Singh, had no intention to "dismiss" the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, relations at the top—between the head of state and the head of government—appear to be going from bad to worse. Coming on top of various practical indications and signals that some kind of doctrine of overriding presidential authority acting in the name of a great constitutional-moral purpose was being developed in a murky atmosphere, Mr. Zail Singh's letter of April 30 was bound to put up the backs of the elected Government and the Prime Minister. Aside from demanding comprehensive, leave-out-nothing detail on every aspect of the Indian end of the controversial Bofors deal (including virtually all the confidential information relating to the process of evaluation and the technical specifics), the President is known to have adopted a peremptory tone that suggested that he considered himself entitled to conduct a parallel determination on both the integrity and the technical soundness of the decision of March 1986 to acquire for the Indian Army the 155mm Bofors howitzers. The issues relating to the constitutional-political role of the President and the questions involved in *l'affaire Bofors* must be carefully sorted out—and not mixed up, as Mr. Zail Singh has regrettably sought to do. In the light of the controversy and the major national issues raised, it is a vital democratic necessity that full information on the Bofors deal—and, specifically, whether there was any illegal or unauthorised servicing of the political end of the deal in India—be placed before Parliament and the people. For example, there is no justification whatsoever at this stage for not making the clarifications received by the Government of India from Bofors, public, especially after the Prime Minister assured Parliament that the Government had nothing to hide. But this issue must not be confused with what flows from Article 78 of the Constitution, and there would be no justification for Mr. Zail Singh to make a demand suggesting a fishing inquiry and giving the impression that a parallel authority to that of the elected Government and the parliamentary process is sought to be exercised.

Such an interpretation of the President's role—which is strictly defined in the Constitution as non-substantive in relation to the popularly constituted authority of the Council of Ministers and the Prime Minister—is unacceptable.

But, unfortunately, given political distrust and in reaction to a worrying stance and set of signals, the elected government seems to have fallen into the trap of constitutional overstatement and perhaps even extremism—specifically in relation to Article 78 which deals with the "duties of the Prime Minister as respects the furnishing of information to the President etc." As this newspaper noted in its editorial of May 1, "To ensure that the President is not reduced to a figurehead, the Constitution requires that he be informed of the affairs of state.... It would be a constitutional absurdity to maintain.... that the President is not really entitled to anything and is bound by the advice of the Cabinet on what information he should seek from it!" The absolutist interpretation of the constitutional role of the President, which is a sort of follow-up at an "expert" level on the statement of the Union Minister of State for Home, Mr. P. Chidambaram, in the Lok Sabha, does not fit into the scheme of the Constitution which relies as much on convention and British constitutional practice as on specific provisions in laying down the nature of the relationship between the head of state and the head of government.

Article 74(1) makes it clear that the President in the exercise of functions *shall act* in accordance with the advice of the Council of Ministers. This absolute injunction would have to give way in exceptional cases well known in constitutional practice—for instance, when a Prime Minister loses the majority support in the Lok Sabha but refuses to resign, or in the appointment of the Prime Minister subject, of course, to the paramount consideration of the person chosen for the office commanding majority support. It is clear that Article 74(1) cannot be read so as to reduce other provisions of the Constitution to a nullity. Following the British practice of the Prime Minister meeting the Queen periodically and informing her of the decisions and the thinking of the government, the Indian Constitution lays down as the duty of the Prime Minister

that he should communicate the decisions of the Cabinet and provide information that the President needs. Article 78(a) requires the Prime Minister to communicate to the President all decisions of the Council of Ministers "relating to the administration of the affairs of Union and proposals for legislation." Article 78(b) enjoins the Prime Minister to provide to the President "such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation as the President may call for." It is inconceivable that in the discharge of what are laid down as the duties of the Prime Minister to the President, the Council of Ministers—in effect, the Prime Minister—should be the determining authority and that it should be vested with unfettered discretion on the nature and timing of the information. In a lecture on the Indian Constitution, the former Attorney General, M. C. Setalvad, observed that the Constitution did require the Prime Minister to furnish to the President "all the information he may call for." The nature and quantum of information referred to here is obviously subject to the test of relevance and reasonableness, and must not be interpreted in a fundamentalist or overweening way. This right to information is indeed a necessary adjunct to the President playing his constitutional role effectively. The President is envisaged to represent the nation, ensuring that the rules of the constitutional

game and "fair play" are observed. He is also entitled to advise and caution the Government, though obviously what impact the advice will have depends on the holder of the office and how much the Council of Ministers and Parliament respect his wisdom, sagacity and integrity. The question, however, arises if the President could ask for any and every item or detail or fine print of information or summon any kind of file. Clearly, the type of information must be related to his constitutional role: it should pertain to the decisions or determination of the Council of Ministers or proposals for legislation or should be needed for the exercise of his functions. He cannot run a parallel administration or conduct a parallel enquiry or follow a course different from that of the Government, as though he were the holder of a premier substantive role in the system—which is decidedly not a Presidential, but a Parliamentary system. If the President were to push his right to information beyond the limits of his constitutional role, he could well be inviting another amendment that would restrict the right explicitly. The office of President would only be reduced further in authority and stature. We would urge the Prime Minister and the President to restore a sense of balance on the constitutional and democratic issues involved and not let a very deep discord push relations between them to a flashpoint.

/9274
CSO: 4600/1729

BJP LEADER VAJPAYEE DEFENDS PRESIDENT'S RIGHTS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 9 May 87 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 8.

THE Bhartiya Janata Party leader, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, today defended the President's right to information "about the administrative affairs of the country" and rejected the interpretation of Article 78 of the constitution by the Prime Minister and his colleagues that only such information be furnished to the head of the state "as deemed fit by the Prime Minister or his cabinet."

Mr Vajpayee was addressing an over 6,000-strong rally of BJP workers before leading them to court arrest at Patel Chowk near the Parliament House as a part of the party's *Rajiv Hatao Bhraashtrachar mitao* fortnight-long campaign.

Addressing the meeting, the BJP leader said if the interpretation of the Constitution, as had been made by the Prime Minister, was accepted, then the president will become a dummy, and, no self-respecting person would like to accept this office.

Maintaining that the President of the country owed his office to the electoral college consisting of elected members of Parliament and state legislatures and not to succession as in the case of the British monarch, he said the Indian president had been constitutionally

empowered even to withhold his assent to bill and send it back for reconsideration to Parliament. "If it is said that the President can use this power only at the advice of his cabinet, to say the least, it would make a mockery of this provision."

Mr Vajpayee also reiterated the charges of corruption against the government as also accused Mr Rajiv Gandhi of having violated the Constitution by failing in his duty to keep the President informed, and, having further misled parliament on this count.

Lamenting that three scandals — Fairfax, the submarine deal and the Bofors Howitzer contract — had eroded the government's credibility, he said "if Mr Clean does not look as clean today as he looked earlier, it was not due to any propaganda launched by the opposition but due to his decision to force Mr V. P. Singh to quit the cabinet and his refusal to have the submarine and the Bofors deal investigated into the a parliamentary committee."

Referring to the purchase of submarines from West Germany, Mr Vajpayee wondered why the Indian government had not approached the West German government to inquire into the deal, whereas in an analogous situation in the case of the Bofors deal, the Swedish government had instituted an inquiry at the request of the Indian

government.

The BJP leader also appealed to the government to clarify if Mr Rajiv Gandhi, during his visit to Sweden to attend the funeral of late Mr. Olof Palme, had a meeting with the representatives of Bofors without being accompanied by the defence ministry personnel.

The "court arrest" by the BJP's Delhi unit went off peacefully, with groups of workers from different parts of the capital pushing towards the cordon in an organised manner, carrying aloft "anti-Rajiv Gandhi" and "anti-government" placards.

Our Staff Reporter adds from Bombay: The president of Bharatiya Janata Party, Mr L. K. Advani, said the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's refusal to supply information to the President on Bofors was constitutionally untenable and politically self-incriminating.

Talking to reporters he said that under article 53 of the Constitution, the President was the supreme commander of the armed forces and as such he had all right to seek information about three scandals surfaced relating to defence deals.

He said, "Mr Gandhi should step down and the Congress Parliamentary Party should elect a new leader as Mr Gandhi who got a majority on plea of being Mr Clean, had lost the mandate."

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CSO: 4600/1728

PRESIDENT'S REQUEST FOR BOFORS DETAILS TURNED DOWN

Cabinet Discussions Reported

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 7 May 87 p 1

[Article by Yubara] Ghimire and Chidanand Rajghatta]

[Text]

New Delhi, May 6: The Union government has turned down the President's request for further details on the Bofors gun deal and the findings of the Thakkar Commission.

The government decision was communicated to Mr Zail Singh today. The decision not to submit further information to the President was taken as the government felt that it would set a wrong precedent.

The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, had a series of consultations with his Cabinet colleagues, formally and informally, mainly regarding Article 78 of the Constitution, which inter alia says: "It shall be the duty of the Prime Minister to furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation as the President may call for."

The defence minister, Mr K.C. Pant, last week, had met the President and apprised him about the Bofors deal. The government felt that the information given to the President was part of the constitutional obligation binding on the Prime Minister under Article 78.

The stand taken by the government today was officially said to be the consensus of the Cabinet as well as its political affairs committee.

President's connections

The report of the Thakkar Commission—which was set up to probe into the circumstances and security lapses leading to the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi, as well as to suggest measures to check them—has been withheld by the government after amending Clause 3 of the Commission of Inquiry Act 1952, which made it obligatory to lay such reports in Parliament within six months of submission.

The President, following a report in a Bombay-based weekly to the effect that the commission has suggested investigation into Mr Zail Singh's "links" after he relinquishes office, had asked for a copy of the report with instruction that the government either deny or confirm it.

Today's decision gives an impression that Mr Zail Singh overstepped his constitutional powers in demanding it and that it was for the government or the council of ministers to decide the nature and quantum of information to be supplied to the President and that the latter does not enjoy undefined powers to seek information under Article 78 of the Constitution.

Allahabad high court reserves judgment

Meanwhile, the Allahabad High Court today reserved judgment.

on a writ petition seeking that the Prime Minister be directed to act in accordance with the Constitution and keep the President informed of important matters relating to the state, reports PTI.

The petition for a writ of mandamus was moved by lawyer Dinesh Dwivedi who was later joined by the Allahabad district

Lok Dal(B) general secretary, Mr Bhagwat Prasad Srivastava and some others.

The petitioner contended that it was the constitutional duty of the Prime Minister to keep President informed on important matters.

After hearing the arguments, justices R.M. Sahai and Umesh Chandra reserved their judgment.

Exchange of Letters

Madras THE HINDU in English 7 May 87 p 1

[Text]

MADRAS, May 6.

A significant and major achievement in scientific research relating to high temperature superconductors by the development of new materials has been recently made by the scientists at the Indian Institute of Technology, Madras, working in collaboration with the Indira Gandhi Centre for Atomic Research IGCAR, Kalpakkam.

This is part of the on-going race for finding materials which become superconducting at room temperature. A superconductor is a material which exhibits zero resistance to the passage of electric current below a critical temperature—there is no loss of current during transmission. Many metals exhibit this property at the temperature of liquid helium, that is about -270°C .

What distinguishes the work of the Madras group of scientists (working in the IIT and the IGCAR) is that a variety of new materials, as many as 50, have been developed by them based on the rare earth-barium-copper-oxygen system and proved to be superconductors even at 95°K . (Kelvin is a unit of absolute temperature of the triple point of water).

Many of the elements in the new alloys (dysprosium, holmium, erbium, thulium and ytterbium) are abundantly available in India. Studies on the newly developed materials have shown that the presence of their magnetic element does not destroy superconductivity—the Director, IIT, Madras, Dr. L. S. Srinath, told a press conference today. (Usually magnetism and

superconductivity are antithetical to each other).

Simple device: The Madras group fabricated a simple device for testing a sample in five minutes in order to screen a large number of compounds for superconductivity at and above 77°K (liquid nitrogen temperature). Detailed and careful measurements were then carried out with sophisticated apparatus.

Prof. G. V. Subba Rao, Prof. R. Srinivasan, and Dr. K. V. S. Rama Rao of the IIT, Madras, told the reporters that a wide range of applications could result from the findings if taken to the logical end. For instance, it would be possible to make wires with these materials to reduce transmission losses in electricity transfer and also to produce huge magnets for industrial applications. Again, the superconducting materials could be employed in the manufacture of supercomputers. The research was in a very exciting stage of development, the scientists told the reporters.

All these were considered impossible until a few years ago, Dr. Srinath said. The research work was sponsored by the Department of Science and Technology (DST), New Delhi. The findings are to be presented at an international conference to be held in August this year in Japan.

Thrust area: Since January this year research on high temperature superconducting materials has been regarded as a 'thrust area' throughout the world. A discussion held at the Indian Institute of

Science (IISc), recently at Bangalore made an exchange of ideas between the IISc, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, and the Madras group possible. A formulation of future strategies was also accomplished at the meeting.

The Materials Science Research Centre at the IIT has entered into a formal agreement with leading West German institutions to carry out research in the area of superconducting materials under the Indo-German collaborative programmes.

Other interesting aspects are: the higher the critical temperature of a material for superconductivity the better can it be used economically in practical applications, and this explains the world-wide interest in this thrust area. The ultimate goal is to achieve a room temperature superconductor (critical temperature of 300°K or 27°C) and the spate of developments in the past few months make this a distinct possibility, the scientists said.

Revolution in technology: The new superconductors produced by the Madras group can be operated at liquid nitrogen temperature (77°K or -196°C) instead of the usual conventional low temperature superconductors operable only at liquid helium temperature (4.2°K or -269°C). This means a revolution in superconductor technology in the economic production of high magnetic fields for nuclear magnetic resonance (NMR) spectroscopy, nuclear fusion, particle accelerators, magneto hydro dynamic (MHD) power generation and in magnetic levitation of passenger trains.

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CSO: 4600/1727

DEFENCE MINISTER RESPONDS TO ARTICLE ON 'TORPEDOED' SUB

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 3 May 87 p 1

[Text]

MAY 2.—Referring to the INSIGHT report, "Torpedoed by a German destroyer?" which appeared in The Statesman on May 1-2, the Ministry of Defence says: "It has been, in the report, suggested that the torpedoes fitted on the HDW-1,500 submarines, acquired by the Indian Navy, malfunctioned during recent trials. It has also been insinuated that naval personnel were reluctant to take delivery of the submarines until the 'faults in the torpedo could be sorted out'.

"The Ministry of Defence would like to clarify that these conclusions and allegations are baseless. The torpedoes fitted on the HDW submarines have been found satisfactory and it has already been stated in Parliament that these torpedoes are working all right.

"The report also made certain conjectures regarding the demise of the late Cdr Naven Chopra. The matter is currently under investigation by a Board of Inquiry instituted by the Naval Headquarters.

INSIGHT adds: The Defence Ministry's clarification suffers from several weaknesses.

The fact is that the HDW submarine was subjected to torpedo firing trials in the Arabian Sea off Bombay on April 23. Two torpedoes were readied for firing, one from the surface while the other was to be fired underwater.

It is the latter role, that of destroying an underwater target,

which is crucial to the HDW submarines which were acquired under a project code-named SSR—Submarine to Submarine Killer—and were expected to meet the threat of enemy submarines more than anything else.

During trials, the submarine was a complete failure as far as underwater, firing was concerned. The torpedo, in fact failed the pre-launch test where all systems are checked to see if they are working all right. The surface trials, where the torpedo was fired at a target above water, were only marginally more successful.

The problem, submariners say, is in the silver zinc batteries which are the power source of the torpedoes. And since, each torpedo costs over Rs 1 crore, a pre-launch failure is, or ought to be, a matter of very grave concern. The vessel carries a complement of eight torpedoes and, at the moment, it cannot have a strike capability of more than 30 to 40 per cent, naval officers say.

Similar problems had arisen during trials in Kiel last year before the delivery of the submarine. India had contracted to purchase at a total of 100 torpedoes. To check the quality of torpedoes it was decided to test the first torpedo from a batch of 10, the second from a batch of 15, and one each from three subsequent batches of 25.

But torpedoes were checked only

from the first two batches. Both were found to malfunction as one did not leave the breech because of a power failure and the other wobbled a great deal and ultimately failed to reach the target.

These faults were reported by naval officers in Kiel to naval headquarters in Delhi. The Director of Naval Plans, Commodore P. S. Das, a brother-in-law of the Defence Secretary, Mr S. K. Bhattacharya, was asked by the Ministry to instruct the officers in Kiel to bring the vessels to India. The submariners were told that the faults could be taken up with the manufacturers later and that the delivery could not be postponed because 85 per cent of the contracted price had already been paid to HDW.

The final component of the Defence Ministry clarification is that "certain conjectures" were made in the INSIGHT report regarding the death of Cdr. Naveen Chopra. But the report spoke of a communication from Vice-Admiral S. Jain, C-in-C, Western Naval Command to Naval Headquarters. The contents of this communication, as learnt by INSIGHT, were offered as facts for comment to the spokesman of the Ministry of Defence in Bombay. The spokesman chose not to deny the fact of a communication outright but said guardedly that Admiral Jain "doesn't seem to have communicated anything to Delhi".

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CSO: 4600/1725

ALLEGATIONS ON GERMAN SUBMARINE PURCHASE INVESTIGATED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 May 87 pp 1, 9

[Article by Ravi Rikhye]

[Text]

THE allegation has been made that the German Submarines India has purchased are inferior to its competitors, especially the Swedish design. But investigation of ten specific questions have produced the following answers:

Is the Swedish boat superior to the HDW? No. The consensus in the Indian navy is that the German boat is superior. There can, however, never be a 100 percent agreement in any technical matter, particularly in respect of West European weapons which tend to be roughly equivalent in capability.

Any weapons design is a compromise between different, conflicting parameters. A submarine, for example, can be fast or be quiet. If speed is needed, then it becomes pointless to criticise the boat for noisiness, and vice versa. Every equipment has its pluses and minuses, and the customer must make his own compromise.

The biggest non-technical point against the Swedish boat was that, whereas HDW is the largest non-communist exporter of conventional submarines, Sweden has exported none. The qualities and shortfalls of the HDW boats are known from several sources, but there is no authentic information from non-Swedish sources on their boats.

Did HDW sell plans to South Africa? No. The confusion arises because what is loosely called the type 209 is actually a design class. Thus, the Greek, Turkish, Argentine and Indian boats are all class 209s, but they are completely different boats of varying tonnages. HDW has not sold the plans of the Indian boats to anyone.

Are there problems with torpedoes? Yes. The AEG torpedo is still, for all practical purposes, under develop-

ment. Like any new weapon, it has problems which require time to resolve. This is a price India pays for wanting the latest and the best. If it can have problems with a torpedo, imagine the problems if an entire submarine class of unproven performance had been purchased.

Did HDW take unreasonably long to deliver the first two boats? No. The boats were laid in 1982 and completed by late 1986, about four and a half years. HDW usually takes less; the Danish boats were finished in three and a half years, and the Greek in two. Part of the delay in India's boats arises because they are a new type, part because we ourselves tend to change our ideas. This is not unusual.

Are the Mazagon boats delayed? Yes. The first of the boats should have been ready by 1988. It will be delivered in 1991.

Making a submarine is more difficult than making an aircraft-carrier. It is an extremely complex matter. India has jumped from zero submarine construction capability to building one of the most-advanced types in the world. Inevitably, there are going to be problems and delays.

Mazagon has serious problems with its work force, perhaps more than most defence undertakings. Indian public sector labour tends to be casual, undisciplined and inadequately trained. This creates obvious difficulties.

Have only three boats been bought for the price of four? No. Two boats have been delivered from Germany, two more are under construction in India. Far from HDW outmanoeuvring India on spare parts prices, the Indians, who are skilled negotiators, have outdone HDW. The shipyard is likely to run into a loss because it did not know how to negotiate.

The Indians deliberately leave many loose ends, with smiles and assurances that these details are unimportant. Then once the foreign supplier is committed, with his money sunk in, they start turning the screws and demand all sorts of services and conditions never agreed to, but, equally, never not agreed to.

Are boats number 5 and 6 excessively priced? No. In its original contract, HDW did something very stupid. It agreed to only a seven per cent price increase for numbers 5 and 6, which were an option if the Indian government acted by November 1984. With military equipment costs escalating between ten and 15 per cent a year, and with HDW already suffering due to its oversight on the contract for numbers 1 and 4, it would have been in bad trouble had the government taken up the option within time. Luckily for HDW, the government, for unknown reasons, did not.

India wants so much new gadgetry that extensive redesign is required for numbers 5 and 6. The Indians refuse to pay for the redesign and want a reworked design at old prices.

Equally, HDW is determined not to make a loss, so they are quoting 70 per cent above the old price. Given six years of inflation, and given that the Indians will — in all probability — still manage to outdo HDW on a number of points, this is probably reasonable.

Did the Argentine submarines fail against the British? No. Only one boat sailed against the British, and one boat against a task force can achieve nothing. In any case, let's not underestimate the royal navy's anti-submarine warfare capability which is among the best in the world.

Is the matter of commission a new discovery? No. As early as 1985, the defence secretary, Mr S. Bhatnagar, had told the Germans that the agents' commissions were their problem and could not be part of the price. The Germans have replied that they have a firm, legally enforceable contract with the agent. That is neither a new argument nor a new discovery.

Can a new submarine be purchased? The HDW programme is India's first for domestic manufacture of submarines, a quantum jump in the nation's shipbuilding capabilities. Short of cancelling everything and starting out all over again, at 1988 prices and with another five-year delay, there is no option but to continue. A new programme will bring a new set of problems. Problems should be set right, not another set taken on.

SCIENTISTS DEVELOP NEW LONG-RANGE SAM MISSILE

Test in Orissa

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 11 May 87 p 1

[Text]

New Delhi, May 10 (UNI): A new generation of long-range surface-to-air missile, Agni, has been developed by Indian defence scientists.

Agni, which matches the most advanced missiles of its class in the US and the Soviet Union, is to be flight tested soon. The ministry of defence has directed that the missile be tested at the interim missile test range at Chandipur in Orissa.

Crores have been spent to establish the Chandipur range as the Baliapal National Missile Test Range is posing political problems, following reluctance of villagers to move to alternative places.

Agni is part of the defence ministry's most ambitious programme for indigenous production of a complete range of missiles.

Other missiles

The minister of state for defence, Mr Arun Singh, announced in Parliament recently that a surface-to-air missile, Trishul, had been successfully flight-tested.

The other missiles being produced are the long-range SAM missile, Akash, the surface-to-surface missile, Prithvi, and the most advanced anti-tank missile, Nag. All these missiles have been developed by the scientists of the Defence Research and Development Organisation.

The defence ministry attaches considerable importance to the development of these missiles and Maj. Gen. Satish Chandra has been appointed full-fledged director of the National Missile

Test Range.

Safety zone

According to experts working on the Chandipur range, a serious problem is expected to arise around the time of testing of Agni and other missile as no "safety zone" has been demarcated there.

There are some regular concrete structures in the Chandipur range and these will have to be demolished and the local population moved out before firing trials.

While crores have already been spent at the interim range and several radars and electro-optic equipment set up to monitor the performance of the missile, experts fear test firings might be considerably delayed.

More than 3,000 personnel of the public sector undertaking, Metallurgical and Engineering Consultants (Mecon) are already working on the range.

When contacted by UNI, Maj. Gen. Satish Chandra declined to say why the experts forgot to first demarcate the safety zone for the Chandipur range, clear out the solid civilian structures and move the population out for safe firing trials.

He brushed aside all enquiries about the range, saying that no sensitive military information could be given out to the press.

According to Mecon experts, if the government succeeded in demarcating the safety zone, the Chandipur range would undertake testing of rockets, missiles, and launching of satellites for various scientific and defence purposes.

Threshold of Self-Sufficiency

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 9 May 87 p 5

[Analysis by Cecil Victor]

[Text]

Director of the Defence Research and Development Laboratory, Hyderabad Dr Abdul Kalam has come close to fulfilling his promise to the nation — that a completely indigenous family of missiles would become functional by 1987.

Minister of State for Defence Arun Singh told Parliament recently that a surface-to-air (SAM) Trishul had been successfully flight-tested. He did not mention that indigenous development of a long-range SAM (Aakash), a surface-to-surface (Prithvi) and an anti-tank missile (Nag) are in the final stages of development. Apparently Trishul will be the first to go into production after 30 or 40 more launches and acceptance by the IAF and will be deployable by 1993 or earlier.

In any case Dr Kalam had promised in 1985 that three or four missiles with a minimum of interchangeability and incorporating "fire and forget" capability will be deployable with the armed forces by that time.

The missile programme has become a classic example of how parallel coordination between R and D, users (armed forces) and production units "mission oriented" project can help the nation move swiftly and surely towards its stated goal of self-reliance.

(If the same approach were evident in the development of indigenous guns, the nation could have been spared the embarrassment caused by the Bofors deal for the 155 mm howitzer gun. Indian scientists have built the Indian Field Gun but lack of resources and time

were given as excuses to farm out the purchase of the howitzer.)

The methodology used for the development of the missiles was a doubling of the scientific manpower by recruitment within the country and abroad. Also, the technological infrastructure was increased proportionally and intensive use was made of the existing technical facilities in laboratories throughout the country. This "mission approach", much in the manner of the atomic energy endeavour, is perhaps the only way in which a nation like India can hope to achieve self-reliance in military hardware.

Yet there are pitfalls. The US has included in its list of systems it is "willing" to give India an anti-tank missile. The eagerness with which the DRDL appeared to jump at the offer gave the impression that that India's indigenous programme was in jeopardy and in need of rescue. Now DRDL sources indicate that the anti-tank missile Nag which will use an advanced infra-red imaging system to destroy a tank four kilometres away. It is similar to the class of anti-tank missiles under development in the US.

India must be wary of nations bearing gifts. These are methods normally used to find out what we are working on and then offers are made which are designed to scuttle indigenous development (the low flying detection radar is a case in point).

The west is interested in trying to prevent India from

achieving long-range missile capability. The recent announcement that the US and its allies will not give technology for production of intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) which can be used to carry nuclear missiles.

It is generally recognised that it is the kind of research and development that is going on in DRDL and not so much what is happening in the Indian Space Research Organisation that can be used for military application.

Western attempts to curb IRBM technology are not meant to deter its allies Pakistan (which has airborne nuclear delivery systems), Israel (which has been given the Lance missile which is nuclear capable) or even the racist regime of South Africa which has received missile technology from West Germany but to prevent India from matching what the Chinese have already got if it so desires.

The development of ramjet technology by India which is useful for low-level, high-speed missiles, will enable her to produce terrain-hugging cruise missiles. Already the projected surface-to-surface capability of Prithvi is impressive — delivering a one-tonne warhead to a target 150 kms away. Increasing its range will be an extremely cost-effective manner of projection of power in an environment where short-range French-supplies Crotale SAMs and anti-ship missiles are waiting to destroy deep-penetration, low-flying aircraft.

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HATE CAMPAIGN AGAINST JAMAAT-E ISLAMI CRITICIZED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 19 Apr 87 p 3

[Editorial: "What is the Purpose of This Campaign?]

[Text] The other day several affiliates of a political party took out a procession in Moro protesting against Mian Tufail Mohammad, president of Jamaat-e Islami [JI]. Some troublemakers called the president of Moro country [JI] and his son dirty names and manhandled them. They also raised slogans against JI leaders. Earlier there were attacks on the offices of Islami Jamiat-e Tulba at Kashmoor. A few days back the president of Jacobabad were fired upon and office destroyed. Several small demonstrations were held in Karachi recently in which slogans against Mian Tufail Mohammad and JI were raised. It is not difficult to assume that an extremist group in a political party is trying to start confrontation. Who will lose from this senseless confrontation? We can talk about that later, but right now we know that only the government will benefit from any confrontation among the opposition parties.

We have noticed for some time that a hate campaign against the JI and its leaders is in progress. Some news media is playing a very suspect role in this campaign. Recently, a very derogatory interview with Mian Tufail Mohammad was reproduced from an Indian newspaper. We can understand Indian newspapers' tirade against important Pakistani leaders, but we are at a loss when our Pakistani newspapers encourage such conspiracies for character assassinations. The ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY of India may have altered Mian Tufail Mohammad's interview, but our intelligent journalists would have easily known how much truth was there and also would have foreseen the negative aspects of reproducing it. We are sure that this was done intentionally. Only our ruling party benefited from it, and perhaps that was the main purpose behind this all. However, can we call efforts to get people and political parties at each other's necks just to gain some advertisement revenue, journalistic honesty? They did not think reproduction of this distorted interview was enough! An article discussing this interview was also published and efforts were made to accuse Mian Tufail Mohammad to be in support of Bangla Desh being a part of India. Was this a coincidence that all this was done with reference to an Indian newspaper, the TRIBUNE. When we analyze this interview, we know that Mian Tufail Mohammad was just trying to tell the Indian journalist that Indian armed forces had attacked East Pakistan. The fact that Indian

journalists are expert at changing the meaning of any conversation to fit their needs is well known. We have the example of the interview with Pakistan's famous scientist, Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan, by Kuldip Nayar. What is more? The widely circulated weekly TIME pulled a few tricks while reporting an interview with President Ziaul Haq. Prime Minister Junejo had to explain while in London that some of the sentences attributed to the president were not said by him. Since the Indian and Jewish lobbies in the United States has been carrying on a tirade against Pakistan's atomic program, the TIME did not hesitate in joining the effort. What can we tell the Indian journalists and their media? We are sure that Mian Tufail Mohammad never said the things that are attributed to him in that interview with Benazir Bhutto. It was all journalistic dishonesty. What bothers us is that our countrymen believed all this and are ready to rouse rabble. They have issued such instigating statements over a baseless report and using this occasion to let the long-suppressed hatred in their minds out. Perhaps, all this talk will help cleanse our minds. The situation in Sind, however, has progressed from slogans and name-calls to physical confrontations. Leaders of the PPP should understand that they are being deceived. Their party workers are now imitating the leaders and have adopted the attitude that had made the PPP infamous when it was the ruling party. As for our "farsighted" journalists, they have tried to instigate the ruling Muslim League party against Mian Tufal Mohammad in an evening issue of a newspaper. All these incidents indicate that an organized conspiracy against the JI is being implemented. This is not surprising because the campaign to implement a Shariat bill is a hot issue in our country. Most of our leaders are in its support. The opponents of Shariat Bill are focusing their energies against the JI. The government also knows that the best way to kill the Shariat Bill is by attacking the JI. Anti-religious groups have also joined this effort.

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NON-PARTY ELECTIONS OF LOCAL BODY OPPOSED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 14 Apr 87 p 3

[Editorial: "Non-Party Basis of Municipalities"]

[Text] Finally, they have decided to hold municipal elections on a non-party basis in October this year. However, persons belonging to various political parties will not be restricted from participating in these elections. It was decided in a high level meeting under the chairmanship of Anwar Aziz, federal minister of municipalities, that no changes in the existing election system will be made. Municipal committee councilors elected by popular vote will elect their officers. The federal government has asked the provincial governments for their opinions on this issue. Some leading rules and regulations were sent to the provinces. According to some informed sources there are several disagreements between the federal and provincial governments. Representatives from Punjab and Sind have indicated that they cannot decide on these issues without input from the chief ministers. The chief ministers of these provinces are abroad these days. Another high level meeting will be held on their return to discuss the debated issues all over again. The conflicting issues that top the list are rights of the municipal committees, controlling factors, and various laws in the provinces. The federal minister of municipalities wants to know what kind of local governments do the provinces want, what complaints do they have about the present system, and how can these be taken care of. He made it clear that the municipal elections will not be held on Ayub Khan's B.D. system. He assured that there will not changes in the present elections system.

Another federal minister, Iqbal Ahmad Khan, has also declared that municipal elections will be held on non-party basis. The difference of opinion among the provincial governments indicates that they do not want the municipal governments to have too much autonomy. They want to see municipal governments to remain under the control of provincial governments and want to enact laws that can control municipal governments' social welfare programs. The provincial governments want to keep these municipal bodies at their mercy. It is not very difficult to guess what the government wants if we take a look at how the Karachi Municipal Corporation was suspended and how the feelings and ideas of its elected members were ignored. We cannot object to the non-party elections held by the martial law government, because martial law regimes do not have to follow democratic rules or the constitution. We do not, however,

understand why our civilian government is so insistent on holding these elections on a non-party basis, especially, when it has declared that the general elections will be held with full participation by political parties. When they held the national assembly elections on a non-party basis, they also formed a national party overnight and left no choice to the elected members but to join this government-sponsored party. Thus, the government managed to form a political party without much opposition. They may be trying the same trick in these elections. Municipal elections will be held without the participation of political parties and the elected members will be coerced into supporting the majority party. The government, however, should keep in mind that political parties born overnight do not get popular support and they meet the same fate as was met by the Republican Party and Ayub Khan's Convention League. These parties flourish only as long as they are the majority party. They disappear like a "misspelled word" the day they leave the government. Nobody remembers their names. The government should learn from these mistakes and try to strengthen its party by getting people's support and approval.

We are requesting our government not to enact laws that might make municipal governments puppets in the hands of provincial governments. Also, these municipal elections should be held on party-basis so the government learns how popular is its own party and how much truth is in the government propaganda. The other alternative is holding elections on a non-party basis and having the elected members join the [Muslim League] party. This will not benefit anyone. The government should also refrain from making municipal bodies totally helpless. Such "paraplegic" municipal bodies will neither be able to do any constructive work nor will be accepted by the people.

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